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THE MASS

A STUDY OF THE ROMAN LITURGY

BY

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EDITORS' PREFACE.

THIS series of Handbooks is designed to meet a need, which, the Editors believe, has been widely felt, and which results in great measure from the predominant importance attached to Dogmatic and Moral Theology in the studies preliminary to the Priesthood. That the first place must of necessity be given to these subjects will not be disputed. But there remains a large outlying field of professional knowledge which is always in danger of being crowded out in the years before ordination, and the practical utility of which may not be fully realised until some experience of the ministry has been gained. It will be the aim of the present series to offer the sort of help which is dictated by such experience, and its developments will be largely guided by the suggestions, past and future, of the Clergy themselves. To provide Textbooks for Dogmatic Treatises is not contemplated—at any rate not at the outset. On the other hand, the pastoral work of the missionary priests will be kept constantly in view, and the series will also deal with those historical and liturgical aspects of Catholic belief and practice which are every day being brought more into prominence.

That the needs of English-speaking countries are, in these respects, exceptional, must be manifest to all. In point of treatment it seems desirable that the volumes should be popular rather than scholastic, but the Editors hope that by the selection of writers, fully competent in their special subjects, the information given may always be accurate and abreast of modern research.

The kind approval of this scheme by His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, in whose Diocese these manuals are edited, has suggested that the series should be introduced to the public under the general title of THE WESTMINSTER LIBRARY. It is hoped, however, that contributors may also be found among the distinguished Clergy of Ireland and America, and that the Westminster Library will be representative of Catholic scholarship in all English-speaking countries.

PREFACE.

THIS book is intended to supply information about the history of the Roman liturgy. The dogmatic side of the Mass is discussed by the Bishop of Newport in the same series.[1] The title shows that it is a study of the Roman rite. It is only in the Roman (or Gallican) rite that the Eucharistic service can correctly be called Mass. The chapter about other liturgies and the frequent references to them throughout are meant only to put our Roman Mass in its proper perspective and to illustrate its elements by comparison. In spite of the risk of repetition, the clearest plan seemed to be to discuss first the origin and development of the Mass in general; and then to go through the service as it stands now, adding notes to each prayer and ceremony.

The present time is perhaps hardly the most convenient for attempting a history of the Mass. For never before have there been so many or so various theories as to its origin, as to the development of the Canon, the Epiklesis and so on. Where the best authorities differ so widely it

[1] *The Holy Eucharist*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1907.

would be absurd to pretend to offer a final solution. I have no pretence of supplying a new answer to any of these questions, or even of taking a side finally among theories already proposed. The only reasonable course seems to be to state the chief systems now defended and to leave the reader to make up his own mind. I have however shewn some preference for the main ideas of Dr. Drews and Dr. Baumstark and for certain points advanced by Dr. Buchwald. And I have added a few general remarks on the points which seem to me to be fairly established. But this has not, I think, prevented a fair statement of other theories ; nor should it make it more difficult for the reader to see the present state of the difficult questions. I doubt if it be possible to think of a solution of the main question (the order of the Canon) which has not yet been proposed, or of one that has not some difficulties. At any rate I have thought of none such.

The list of books at the end represents the chief sources used in writing this one. Though obviously exceedingly incomplete (a bibliography of the Mass would be a gigantic undertaking), it will perhaps be of some use as a first guide to further study. If a reference in the notes is not complete it will be found complete there. Throughout the book I have aimed at giving my reference for every statement. Nothing is more useless or irritating than a vague allusion to early use or mediæval practice, without a reference to control it. I have repeated the references con-

tinually. I have spent too much weary time, turning back the pages of books to find what *op. cit.* means, not to wish to spare other people such trouble. And I think we owe it to the people who do us the honour of reading what we write to make it as easy as possible for them to control our statements. P.L. and P.G. mean Migne : *Patrologia latina* and *græca*.

I have to thank Father Herbert Thurston, S.J. for reading the manuscript and making valuable suggestions. But I have, of course, no claim to his authority for any of my views. Mgr. George Wallis and Dr. Edwin Burton have also given me valuable information.

I have constantly used and quoted Cardinal Bona. He supplies very well what I would say here too :

Sæpe enim volenti et conanti vel ingenii vires vel rerum antiquarum notitia vel alia subsidia defuerunt ; nec fieri potuit quin per loca salebrosa in tenebris ambulans interdum offenderim. Cumque aliquid incautius et negligentius a me scriptum offenderit, ignoscat primum lector, deinde amica manu corrigat et emendet, et quæ omisi suppleat (*Rerum liturgicarum* II, xx, 6).

A. F.

LETCHWORTH, *Easter*, 1912.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

For this second edition the book has been carefully revised throughout. I have corrected all mistakes, less accurate, or not sufficiently clear statements that I have discovered. I have also in some paragraphs substituted for the elaborate discussion of some detail matter which seems to be of more general importance.

In revising the book I have had the advantage not only of published reviews but of many suggestions by friends. It is impossible to thank all these here, as I should like to do. But there is one name that I cannot omit. Of all critics the Reverend W. Chatterley Bishop has been the kindest, the most encouraging and the most useful. Mr. Bishop has not only enabled me to give a more correct statement of his own view (pp. 146-148); through the whole book he has made suggestions and corrections. In examining these I have always found how sound is his judgment and how reliable his knowledge. It would be difficult to say adequately how much I owe to his kindness; at any rate, as an obvious act of justice, I must tell the reader that, if he finds

improvements in this edition, he owes them far more to Mr. Bishop than to anyone else.

Finally I would add a word about two chief points discussed in the book, the question of a primitive universal rite and that of a possible later reconstruction of the Roman Canon. In both we must distinguish between the general issue, which seems fairly certain, and a particular view, which is admittedly much less so. With regard to the primitive rite, I believe that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the statement that the great centres of Christendom during the first three centuries had, at least in general outline and in many details, a uniform manner of celebrating the holy mysteries. How far this rite is represented in the so-called Church Orders, Apostolic Constitutions or another, is much less certain. So also it seems fairly certain that the present Roman Canon is a reconstruction and rearrangement of an older form. But the various attempts to discover that earlier form are only more or less plausible conjectures.

There is no reason to be surprised at the idea that the present Canon is not exactly the original form; still less is there any controversial capital to be made out of this. After all, every liturgical form was composed by someone at some time. No one now believes that our Mass comes down unaltered from St. Peter. All we need say is that the early Pope who composed it had still earlier material before him; that he used this material, as he naturally would. He shortened and rearranged the prayers for good reasons.

We accept and use the form he gave us with entire respect. But it is not forbidden to discuss, as a matter of archæology, when and how our Canon was composed. Nor does such a discussion in the least affect our devotion when saying Mass. Undoubtedly our Canon, as we have it, is a most beautiful and venerable form. As it stands it may be said, it is said daily by thousands of priests in the plain meaning of the words, with entire devotion. The supposed signs of what I call "dislocation" affect no one but the student, who may find in them interesting evidences of an early reconstruction. The question is merely one of archæology. It would be absurd for anyone to be troubled in saying Mass by such a matter as this. Without question, our Canon is one of the very oldest, the most splendid forms of prayer in Christendom. We, whose honour it is to say it daily, repeat these venerable words, fragrant with the associations of centuries, without being at all disturbed by the purely archæological question, whether Gelasius I, or some other Pope at about that time, did or did not compose the prayers we use by rearranging still older ones.

A. F.

LETCHWORTH, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, 1913.

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PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE MASS.

CHAPTER I.

THE EUCHARIST IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

§ 1. Liturgical Fragments in the New Testament.

THE first source for the history of the Mass is obviously the New Testament. In the New Testament we find the root of the whole matter in the account of the Last Supper. It was because our Lord told us to do what he had done, in memory of him, that liturgies exist. So, obviously, whatever else may vary, in every rite the first thing is to obey that command, to do *this*, namely, what Christ himself had done. By putting together the four accounts of the Last Supper (Mt. xxvi, 26-28; Mk. xiv, 22-24; Lk. xxii, 19-20; 1 Cor. xi, 23-25) we have the essential nucleus of the holy liturgy in any rite. This at least, we may be sure, was constant from the beginning. It would not have been a Eucharist at all if the celebrant had not done at least this.

Our Lord took bread, gave thanks, blessed and broke it, said over it the words of Institution and gave it to his apostles to eat; then he took a cup of wine, again gave thanks (Luke and Paul do not add this second thanksgiving), said the words of Institution over

it and gave it to them to drink. An unimportant displacement of the order postponed the Communion till after both bread and wine were consecrated; the merely verbal discrepancy in the words of Institution between Matthew and Mark on the one hand and Luke and Paul on the other produced a slight variety in the Eucharistic form. Otherwise we have from the New Testament at least this essential rite: 1. Bread and wine are brought to the altar. 2. The celebrant gives thanks. 3. He takes the bread, blesses it and says the words of Institution. 4. He does the same over the wine. 5. The bread is broken, it and the consecrated wine are given to the people in Communion.

But we can find more than this about the earliest liturgy in the New Testament. A number of allusions, though in no fixed order, enables us to add other elements to this nucleus. None of these allusions gives a full description of the way the apostles celebrated the Eucharist. It is only by putting them together that we can to some extent represent the whole rite. Nor is it safe to insist too much on the order in which the functions are mentioned. We see, for instance, in the accounts of the Last Supper that there are slight misplacements of the order (Mt. xxvi, 26; Lk. xxii, 19), even in the words, (Mt. xxvi, 28; 1 Cor. xi, 25, etc.). The most we can say with certainty is that already in the New Testament we find the elements which make up the liturgy according to the earliest complete account of it (in Justin Martyr), and that in many cases these elements are named in the order they follow in such later accounts.

The Jewish Christians at first continued to attend the services of the Temple with their neighbours (Acts iii, 1; Lk. xxiv, 52, 53). Following the example of our Lord (Lk. iv, 15, 16; vi, 6; John xviii, 20)

they also went to the Synagogues (Acts ix, 20, etc.). But even before the final breach with Judaism Christians had their own meetings too, where they could worship God according to their belief in Christ. These assemblies are occasionally called Synagogues (James ii, 2; Heb. x, 25). As distinct from the Sabbath they were made chiefly on Sunday (Acts xx, 7; 1 Cor. xvi, 2). At these exclusively Christian meetings naturally they followed the normal order of the Jewish Synagogue service, but with Christian ideas: the services were those of the Synagogue Christianized. There were readings from the holy books, as among the Jews (Acts xiii, 15). St. Paul tells Timothy to read as well as to preach (1 Tim. iv, 13); his own letters are to be read out to all the brethren (1 Thess. v, 27; Col. iv, 16). Evidently Christians read their own books as well as the Old Testament. After the readings came sermons, expositions of what had been read (1 Cor. xiv, 26; Acts xx, 7). They sang psalms (1 Cor. xiv, 26) and hymns (Eph. v, 19; Col. iii, 16). The two are obviously distinct in these texts. There are fragments of rhymed prose in St. Paul, which are supposed to be examples of the first Christian hymns (Rom. xiii, 11, 12; Eph. v, 14; 1 Tim. iii, 16; 2 Tim. ii, 11-13).[1]

There were prayers said publicly for all kinds of people (1 Tim. ii, 1-2; Acts ii, 42). At the meetings collections of alms were made for the poor (Rom. xv, 26; 1 Cor. xvi, 1-2; 2 Cor. ix, 10-13). These elements, readings, sermons, psalms, hymns, prayers and the collection of alms, we know to have been those of the Synagogue services.[2] Together they formed the normal Christian morning service, as distinct from the

[1] Warren: *Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*, 34-35.

[2] Conjecturally we can suggest a much more exact reproduction of the Jewish service in the first Christian assemblies than merely the continuation of these elements. See pp. 70-75.

Eucharist.[1] To this picture of the morning service we can add details. The people prayed standing, with uplifted hands (Phil. i, 27; Eph. vi, 14; 1 Tim. ii, 8). This was the Jewish position (Ps. cxxxiii, 1; cxxxiv, 2; Lk. xviii, 11, 13; Mt. v, 5; Ps. cxl, 2; lxii, 5; cxxxiii, 2). The men were bareheaded, the women veiled (1 Cor. xi, 6-7). Women were not allowed to speak in Church (1 Cor. xiv, 34-35). There was a kiss of peace (1 Thess. v, 26; Rom. xvi, 16; 1 Cor. xvi, 20; 1 Pet. v, 14), a public profession of faith (1 Tim. vi, 12). The people continued the use of the old Hebrew formula *Amen* (אָמֵן as an adverb, "certainly," "truly"; so constantly in the Old Testament, Deut. xxvi, 15-26; Ps. xl, 14 etc.) as the sign of their assent after a prayer (1 Cor. xiv, 16); it occurs in the archetype of all prayers, the Our Father (Mt. vi, 13). We may suppose other formulas that occur constantly in St. Paul to be well-known liturgical ones in the Church, as they had been in the Synagogue. Such formulas are "for ever and ever" (again a Hebraism, Rom. xvi, 27; Gal. 1, 5; cfr. Heb. xiii, 21; 1 Pet. iv, 11; v. 11; Apoc. i, 6 etc.). "God blessed for ever" (Rom. ix, 5; i. 25; 2 Cor. xi, 31). Such doxologies and blessings as 2 Cor. xiii, 14; Rom. xi, 36, and the form "Through our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. v, 11, 21; cfr. vi, 12 etc.) have the look of liturgical formulas.

There were two other functions of the first Christian assemblies which disappeared after the first century. These were the Love Feast (*Agape*, 1 Cor. xi, 20-22; Jud. 12)[2] and the effusion of the

[1] R. M. Woolley: *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church* (Cambridge, 1910), describes this service, which he thinks was distinguished from the Eucharist till the end of the 4th century (pp. 25-36).

[2] There is a large literature on the Agape. Of late works E. Baumgartner, O.M. Cap: *Eucharistie und Agape* (Solothurn, 1909) may be recommended. J. F. Keating: *The Agape and the Eucharist* (London, 1901) has some good things. H. Leclercq, O.S.B.: *Agape*

Holy Ghost among the people, producing prophecies, ecstasies, speaking in strange tongues, exorcisms and miracles (1 Cor. xiv, 1-40).[1] We meet both again in the *Didache;*[2] soon after they disappear. Both were obviously open to abuses. St. Paul is not pleased with the way the Agape was held in his time (1 Cor. xi, 22); the effusion of the Holy Ghost disappeared naturally when the first fire of the new movement cooled and enthusiasm gave place to ordered regulations. We may then leave aside these two features and consider only the normal elements that remained, that still exist in all liturgies. There was not a Eucharist at every Christian assembly; but when it was celebrated it was joined to the Christianized Synagogue service described above. In 1 Cor. xi, 20-34 we see it connected with the Agape; it may be conjectured that it followed that feast.[3] The Eucharist was a well-known service among St. Paul's converts (1 Cor. x, 16); it was a recognized standard by which Christians were known (Acts ii, 42, 46); it took place especially on Sunday (Acts xx, 7). From the order of Acts ii, 42 (the teaching of the Apostles, "Communion," breaking of bread, prayers), still more from the invariable order we find in later documents, we may conclude that the Eucharist came at the end of the other service. The people met together, read their books, heard sermons,

in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (i. 775-848) amounts to a long treatise and gives copious bibliography.

[1] Duchesne: *Histoire ancienne*, i. 47-49; *Origines*, 47-48.

[2] See below, p. 9.

[3] There are many difficulties about this text. It is difficult to see when St. Paul is speaking of the feast and when of the Eucharist. The two rites are still woven in one another. But his account of the Last Supper and the expressions "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord" (v. 27), "to show forth the death of the Lord" (v. 26); "discerning the body of the Lord" (v. 29), make the interpretation that he means only an ordinary love-feast impossible.

sang and prayed; then the bread and wine were brought up and the Eucharist was celebrated. The texts show, as we should in any case have foreseen, that this celebration followed exactly the lines of our Lord's action at the Last Supper. His command was to do *this*—what he had just done. The repetition of the whole story of the institution, including the words, in 1 Cor. xi, 23-26 argues that the celebrant repeated those actions and said those words. We notice especially the idea of a thanksgiving prayer as part of the rite. In 1 Cor. xiv, 16 the Amen said by the people is an answer to "thy thanksgiving"; among the kinds of prayer demanded in 1 Tim. ii, 1 are thanksgivings. After the Consecration came "prayers" (Acts ii, 42). Since both our Lord and St. Paul insist on the idea that the Eucharist is a memory of Christ (Lk. xxii, 19), a shewing forth of the Lord's death (1 Cor. xi, 24-26), we may conclude that the prayers contained a reference to this. On one occasion at least, at Troas when the young man fell out of a window, a sermon seems to follow the Communion (Acts xx, 11, ἐφ' ἱκανόν τε ὁμιλήσας).

Putting together what we know or may deduce with reasonable certainty from the texts of the New Testament, we have this picture of the liturgy:—

1. *The Synaxis based on a Synagogue Service:*

Readings from the Bible (1 Tim. iv, 13; 1 Thess. v, 27; Col. iv, 16). Sermons on what has been read (1 Cor. xiv, 26; Acts xx, 7).

Psalms (1 Cor. xiv, 26).

Hymns (Eph. v, 19; Col. iii, 16).

Prayers (Acts ii, 42; 1 Tim. ii, 1-2).

Almsgiving (Rom. xv, 26; 1 Cor. xvi, 1-2; 2 Cor. ix, 10-13).

Profession of Faith (1 Tim. vi, 12).

Kiss of Peace (Rom. xvi, 16; 1 Cor. xvi, 20; 1 Thess. v, 26; 1 Pet. v, 14).

2. *The Eucharist Proper:*

A prayer of thanksgiving (Lk. xxii, 19; 1 Cor. xi, 23; xiv, 16; 1 Tim. ii, 1).

The blessing of bread and wine by the words of Institution[1] (1 Cor. x, 16; Mt. xxvi, 26-28; Mk. xiv, 22-24; Lk. xxii, 19-20; 1 Cor. xi, 23).

Prayers, remembering Christ's death (Acts ii, 42; Lk. xxii, 19; 1 Cor. xi, 23, 25, 26).

The people eat and drink the consecrated bread and wine (Mt. xxvi, 26, 27; Mk. xiv, 22, 23; 1 Cor. xi, 26-29).

We shall notice especially that the distinction between these two services, the ordinary Synaxis and the Eucharist proper, remains in all liturgies.[2] It can still be seen, a perceptible joining together of two functions in every rite, including our Roman Mass. For the rest, our knowledge of the details of the whole composite service increases from the earliest fathers, and so on each century. The details developed naturally, the prayers and formulas, eventually the ceremonial actions crystallized into set forms. But the service is always the same. Different arrangements of subsidiary parts, greater insistence on certain elements in various places produce different liturgies; but all go back eventually to this outline. The Roman Mass is one form of a service that we find first, not in the laws of some mediæval Pope, but in the Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels.[3]

[1] Mr. W. C. Bishop contends that in the N.T. these are words of administration, not of consecration. See p. 146.

[2] The Per. Silviæ (see p. 82), still distinguishes these as separate services, held in different churches (xxv, 1-3; ed. Heræus, pp. 31-32).

[3] The liturgical texts in the N.T. are collected in Cabrol and Leclercq: *Monumenta Eccl. Liturgica*, I, i, 1-51.

§ 2. The Liturgy in the Apostolic Fathers.

The little book that is apparently the earliest extant Christian work after the New Testament, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (*Didache*),[1] contains two allusions to the holy Eucharist. Chap. xiv. 1 says: "Every Sunday of the Lord (*κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου*), having assembled together, break bread and give thanks (*εὐχαριστήσατε*), having confessed your sins, that your sacrifice be pure". From this we have two conclusions of dogmatic importance, confession before Communion (it is a real confession made "in church"; see iv. 14) and that the Eucharist is a sacrifice. For its ritual we have that it was celebrated every Sunday and that already its name is "Thanksgiving" (*εὐχαριστία*, Eucharist). The other text is curious and has many difficulties: (ix, 1), "Concerning the Thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*, one might already use the word Eucharist), give thanks thus, (2) First for the cup: We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the holy vine of thy servant David which thou hast shown us through thy servant[2] Jesus. Glory to thee for ever. (3) But for the broken (bread): We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the life and wisdom which thou hast shewn us through thy servant Jesus. Glory to thee for ever. (4) As this broken bread was scattered over the mountains, and has been gathered together and made one, so may thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ for ever. (5) But no one is to eat or drink of your Thanksgiving except those who are baptized in the name of Jesus; for

[1] About the years 80-100. It is now generally recognized as a Christian redaction of a Jewish book. Cfr. A. Harnack: *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* (Texte u. Untersuchungen, II, 1-2, Leipzig, 1884), etc.

[2] *Παῖς*, the same word has just been used for David. At this time it commonly means servant (Lk. vii, 7, etc.).

because of this the Lord said: Do not give the holy thing to dogs. (x, 1) After you are filled give thanks thus: (2) We give thanks to thee, holy Father, for thy holy name which thou hast made to dwell in our hearts and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast shewn us through thy servant Jesus. Glory to thee for ever. (3), Thou, almighty Lord, hast created all things for thy name's sake and thou hast given food and drink to men to enjoy that they may give thanks to thee; and to us thou hast given spiritual food and drink and life everlasting through thy servant. (4) Above all we thank thee because thou art mighty. Glory to thee for ever. (5) Remember, O Lord, thy Church to free her from all evil and make her perfect in thy love; gather her from the four winds and make her holy in thy kingdom which thou hast prepared for her; for thine is the power and the glory for ever. (6) Let grace come and let this world perish. Hosanna to the God of David. If anyone be holy let him draw nigh, if anyone be not, let him repent. Maran atha. Amen. (7) But let the prophets give thanks as much as they will."

There are difficulties about this account, so that some people think that it is not about the holy Eucharist at all but only about an Agape. Others think it concerns a private Eucharist celebrated at home, not the official one in public.[1] On the other hand the allusions to the Eucharist seem too obvious to allow any doubt; as for the private Eucharist, its existence in the early Church remains to be proved. The reasonable interpretation of the passage in the *Didache* seems to be that it is an incomplete description of an abnormal

[1] A good short account of this discussion with references will be found in Rauschen: *Eucharistie und Busssakrament* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1910), pp. 95-98. See also Batiffol: *Etudes d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 2 série (2nd ed., Paris, 1905, 108-117).

type of Eucharistic service. Supposing this, we notice in the first place that the prayers are modelled on the Jewish prayers for blessing bread and wine on the eve of the Sabbath.[1] In this case too the book shews itself to be a Christian remodelling of Jewish texts. The abnormal points are that the wine is blessed before the bread—this is unique in all Christian literature—that there is no mention of the Last Supper, no reference to the words of Institution, only the vaguest allusion to the Real Presence.[2] We have however in this account certain elements that we shall find constant in the normal liturgy. There is first the Thanksgiving-prayer. God is thanked for the benefit of creation and for his gifts in nature (x, 3), then for his grace given to us through Christ (ib. x, 2; ix, 2, 3).[3] This is quite the usual form of that prayer. There is a thanksgiving before and another after Communion. There is also a double Intercession-prayer for the Church (ix, 4 and x, 5). The Thanksgiving and Intercession ends with the formula: "Hosanna to the God of David". This resembles part of the Sanctus, in its usual place. We see the restriction of Communion to those who are baptized (ix, 5), the breaking of the bread (ix, 3), the word Eucharist (thanksgiving) almost, but not quite, the technical name for the rite of the Lord's Supper.[4] The Lord's Prayer is not mentioned at the breaking of bread, but it is quoted in full just before

[1] The original Jewish forms are in the treatise *Berakhoth* (= "Blessings," the first treatise in the Mishna, chap. 6) in the Talmud. Cfr. Sabatier: *La Didache* (Paris, 1885) pp. 99 seq. Some parallel Jewish prayers will be found in Cabrol-Leclercq: *Monum. Eccl. Lit.*, I, i, xvii-xxiii.

[2] In x,3 the "spiritual food and drink," though it might mean only Christ's teaching, may yet well refer to the Eucharistic food, in distinction to the ordinary food and drink given to all men (above, p. 9).

[3] Compare especially here the Jewish thanksgiving-prayers, e. gr.: Cabrol-Leclercq, *op. cit.* p. xviii, Shemone-Esre 1.

[4] "To eat and drink of your Eucharist" (ix, 5); but the prophesying in x, 7 is also a "Eucharist".

(viii, 2) with a doxology ("for thine is the power and the glory for ever"); people are told to "pray thus thrice in the day" (viii, 3). There are also a number of liturgical forms: "Glory be to thee for ever" (σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ix, 2, 3; x, 2, 4), "Thine is the power and the glory for ever" (x, 5), "Through thy servant Jesus (διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου, x, 2). The form: "We give thee thanks because thou art mighty" (x, 4) recalls: "We give thee thanks for thy great glory" in the Gloria in excelsis. For the rest the tone of this document is that of an excited, eager Jewish Christianity, unlike the calmer atmosphere we shall see in the more normal development. The Chiliast expectation is very pronounced (x, 6; cfr. 1 Thess. iii, 13; iv, 17; v, 23; Apoc. xxii, 20); the form Maran atha (x, 6, Aramaic: מרנא אתה "our Lord comes"; cfr. 1 Cor. xvi, 22) and the "Kingdom" into which the scattered Church is to be collected (x, 5) belong to the same idea. The Prophets may still "give thanks" as much as they like (x, 7).

The *First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*[1] contains little direct reference to the liturgy. On the other hand, there are prayers in it that everyone admits to be full of liturgical forms. Indeed the chief prayer in this letter is the basis of a theory which, if true, throws a flood of light on the liturgy of the first century.[2] Meanwhile, on the principle of distinguishing between the actual remains and conjectural theories, we here quote only what the letter itself tells us. Chapters xl and xli show that there was a regulated order for the worship of God: xl, 1, "We must do all things that the Lord told us to do at stated times,

[1] Written about the years 96-98 to pacify a schism in the Church of Corinth. As late as the time of Eusebius it was still read publicly in churches (H.E. III, 16).

[2] See below, pp. 63-65.

in proper order. 2. For he commanded that the offerings and services [1] should be performed, not rashly nor in disorder, but at fixed times and hours. 3. And he himself by his most high will arranged where and by whom they should be celebrated, so that everything should be done piously according to his command and should be agreeable to his will. 4. Therefore those who make their offerings [2] at the appointed times are well pleasing and blessed; they follow the command of the Lord and do not err. 5. To the high priest [3] his own services (λειτουργίαι) are appointed; a special place is given to the priests, and levites [4] have their offices (διακονίαι). The layman is commanded by lay laws. xli, 1. Each of us, brothers, should please God honourably in his own place with a good conscience, not transgressing the appointed order of his services (λειτουργίαι)" etc. (a comparison with the order of the temple follows).

From this text we have some points of dogmatic importance. There is a graduated hierarchy, of which each order has its own duties,[5] the clergy are clearly distinguished from the laity. We have also for our purpose the fact that already in the first century the services of the Church are performed in a fixed order, which was believed to come from our Lord. So even in the very earliest period these services are not merely prayer-meetings arranged according to the caprice of the people. This point is important since it forms the necessary supposition for any attempt to reconstruct

[1] λειτουργίαι, 'liturgies'.

[2] Both here and above προσφοραί, 'oblations' which soon became the technical name for the offering of the holy Eucharist. Here it may still include the offerings for the poor.

[3] ἀρχιερεύς, the bishop. It is the word always used in the Bible for the Jewish high priest and in Hebr. v, 5 etc. for Christ.

[4] Deacons.

[5] The hierarchy of bishops, priests and deacons occurs several times in this letter, xlii, 4, 5; i, 3 etc.

the order of these earliest services. Whether our attempts are successful or not, we know that there certainly was an order fixed, at least in its main outline. The letter contains a number of formulas that are clearly liturgical, for instance: "Since we have all these things from him, we must give thanks for all things to him, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen".[1] It also gives us an allusion to the *Sanctus*, an element of nearly all liturgies: xxxiv, 6. "The Scripture says: Ten thousand times ten thousand waited on him, and a thousand thousand served him and cried: Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, every creature is full of thy glory.[2] (7) And we, guided by our conscience, gathered together in one place, cry to him constantly as with one voice, that we become sharers in his great and glorious promises."

And then especially, besides other prayers and formulas, there is the long prayer of chap. lix-lxi, in which everyone recognizes a magnificent example of an early Christian thanksgiving.[3] The prayer is full of quotations from the Bible. It thanks God for creation, for his various benefits in nature and especially for his grace in Jesus Christ, his beloved Son. It prays for all kinds of men, for kings and governors, for the conversion of pagans and sinners, for the Christians themselves, for peace and grace, and ends with a doxology: "We confess thee, who alone canst give us these and more good things, by Jesus Christ the high priest and protector of our souls, through whom be glory and majesty to thee now, for ever and ever and for ages and ages. Amen" (lxi, 3).

In short this prayer contains just the ideas of the Eucharistic prayer (our preface) and the Intercession that we find in the liturgies written later.

[1] xxxviii, 4; cfr. xliii, 6; l, 7; lviii, 2 etc.
[2] Dan. vii, 10; Is. vi, 3. [3] Duchesne: *Origines*, 49-51.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* [1] has a reference to Sunday: "We celebrate the eighth day in joy, on which Jesus rose from the dead" (xv, 9), and one or two liturgical formulas.[2] The letters of *St. Ignatius* [3] contain a number of liturgical formulas and prayers.[4] He insists most of all always on the hierarchy,[5] the necessity of doing all things in union with the bishop,[6] the wickedness of schism and dissension.[7] The holy Eucharist is to him, as to St. Paul (1 Cor. x, 17), the bond of union between Christians; hence his insistence on the unity of the Eucharist: Magn. vii, 1: "As the Lord did nothing without the Father, being always united to him, neither himself nor by the apostles, so do you do nothing without the bishop and the presbyters, nor allow anything to seem decent to you if it be done separately; but when you come together let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope in love and in holy joy, and this is Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is better. 2. Come together all of you as to one temple of God, to one altar, to one Jesus Christ who came forth from one Father, was with one (Father) and went back to him." Phil. iv: "Be careful to use one Eucharist [8]; for there is one body of our Lord Jesus Christ and one chalice in the unity of his blood; one altar [9] as there is one bishop with the priesthood and deacons." To separate oneself from this common service under the bishop [10] is a

[1] Probably written about the time of Nerva (96-98); the attribution to the apostle St. Barnabas is apocryphal.

[2] vi, 10; xvi, 8; xxi, 9.

[3] Bishop of Antioch († 107); seven letters are authentic.

[4] E. gr. Phil. vi, 3; Smyrn. i, and ii; x, 1.; xii, 2.

[5] E. gr. Magn. vi, 1.; xiii, 1; Trall. ii, 2-3; iii, 1, etc.

[6] Eph. iv, 1-2; Trall. ii, 1; Smyrn. viii, 1; etc.

[7] Eph. v, 1-3; vii, 1-2; xvi, 1-2; Trall. vii, 1-2; etc.

[8] Always used by Ignatius in the special technical sense.

[9] θυσιαστήριον, the sacrificial word.

[10] "That Eucharist is valid (βεβαία, certain, safe) which is celebrated by the bishop or by whom he has appointed" (Smyrn. viii, 1).

grievous sin of schism.[1] The crime of the schismatical Docetes is that "they abstain from Eucharist and prayer, because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ" (Smyrn. vii, 1). "Eucharist and prayer" means the whole complex of the liturgical service. Ignatius does not mean that the Docetes say no prayers. Indeed from the text below (viii, 1) we see that they had their own Eucharist too. The sin is that they abstain from the Catholic liturgy held in communion with the bishop.[2] Ignatius speaks of Sunday as the Christian holy day too.[3] These texts are of great importance dogmatically; for the student of liturgy they contain little beyond the evident importance of an official liturgy as the sign of union, and the mention of Sunday; unless indeed we may deduce a certain uniformity of rite from the insistence on the one Eucharist.

St. Polycarp[4] in his letter speaks again of the same hierarchy, quotes the Our Father as said by Christians,[5] and gives a specimen of a prayer that has a liturgical look.[6]

The curious little work known as the *Shepherd of Hermas*[7] contains a number of formulas, ceremonies, and other liturgical matter mixed up in its strange visions and allegories, but it has little or nothing new for our purpose. Nor shall we find more in the anonymous letter to Diognetus.[8]

We have then from the Apostolic Fathers the fact that there was at any rate a certain amount of uniformity in the Liturgy of the first century, a few allusions that seem to be liturgical, such as the Sanctus and Our Father, references to Sunday as supplanting the Sabbath,

[1] Eph. v, 2-3.
[2] Funk: *Patres apost.* i, 281 note.
[3] Magn. ix, 1.
[4] Bishop of Smyrna, martyred in 155.
[5] ad Phil. vi, 2; vii, 2.
[6] xii, 2-3.
[7] Probably about the middle of the second century.
[8] Second century.

a long liturgical prayer in Clement of Rome, and the description of a somewhat abnormal rite in the Didache.

Our knowledge increases enormously in the next period, chiefly through Justin Martyr's classical description.

§ 3. The Liturgy in the Second Century.

Our first witness in the second century is a Pagan Roman, the younger Pliny (C. Plinius Cæcilius), at that time Governor of Bithynia. About the years 111-113 he writes to his master, the Emperor Trajan, to ask how he is to treat Christians. He describes what he has learned about this sect from Christians who had apostatized under torture: "All (his informers) have worshipped your image and the statues of the gods, and have cursed Christ". Then they told him about the Christian meetings: "They assert that this is the whole of their fault or error, that they were accustomed on a certain day (stato die) to meet together before daybreak (ante lucem), and to sing a hymn alternately (secum invicem) to Christ as a god,[1] and that they bound themselves by an oath (sacramento) not to do any crime, but only not to commit theft nor robbery nor adultery, not to break their word nor to refuse to give up a deposit. When they had done this it was their custom to depart, but to meet again to eat food—ordinary and harmless food however. They say that they (the apostate informers) have stopped doing this after my edict in which I forbade private assemblies (hetærias) as you commanded."[2]

[1] So Ignatius, Eph. iv, 1: "Therefore you sing to Jesus Christ in unity and loving concord".

[2] The whole letter (no. 96 or 97) in Teubner's *Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom.: C. Plin. Cæc. Secundi epist. libri novem* (ed. Keil, Leipzig, 1896), p. 231; also in E. Preuschen's *Analecta* (Samml. ausgew. kirchen- u. dogmengesch. Quellenschriften, 8), Freiburg i. Br. Mohr, 1893, pp. 14-16; or in Kirch: *Enchiridion fontium historiæ ecclesiasticæ antiquæ*, Freiburg im B., Herder, 1910, pp. 18-19.

The "status dies" is certainly Sunday. There are two meetings, the early one in which they sing their hymn and a later one (in the evening?) when they eat food—the Agape or Eucharist.[1] It seems that the oath to do no wrong is a confusion of Pliny's mind, who took it for granted that these secret meetings must involve some kind of conspirator's oath, whereas the only obligation of which his informers could tell him was not to do wrong.[2]

This slight allusion does not perhaps add much to our knowledge of the early liturgy, but it seems worth while to quote that picture (one of the first mentions of Christianity by a pagan) of the Christians meeting before daybreak and singing their hymn to Christ as God.

St. Justin Martyr is the chief of the early apologists. He was a pagan convert martyred about the year 167. Not the least of the benefits we owe to him is his detailed account of how the Christians of Rome in his time celebrated the holy Liturgy. In the *First Apology*, addressed to Antoninus Pius (138-161) and to his adopted sons, the Senate and Roman people, he is concerned to show the harmlessness of Christianity, especially of the mysterious Christian meetings, which were illegal, about which pagans believed horrible things. In reading his description we must remember that he writes for this purpose, not to supply future archæologists with a complete picture of liturgical practices. Nevertheless his defence takes the form of an outline of the service which to the liturgist is the most precious document of the first three centuries.

In the chapters lxi-lxiv he writes of baptism; chapters lxv-lxvii describe the Eucharist. The passage is too important not to be quoted in full.

[1] For this much discussed question see E. Baumgartner: *Euch. u Agape*, pp. 247-270.

[2] See G. Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, pp. 244-246.

lxv, 1. "But we, after we have thus cleansed him who believes and is joined to us, lead him to those who are called the brethren,[1] where they are gathered together, in order to say common prayers intently for ourselves, for him who has been enlightened[2] and for all others everywhere; that we, having learned true things, may be worthy to be found good workers in deeds and keepers of the commands, and so may be saved with eternal salvation. 2. When we have finished the prayers we greet each other with a kiss. 3. Then bread and a cup of wine[3] are brought to the president[4] of the brethren and he, taking them, sends up praise and glory to the Father of all through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and makes thanksgiving at length[5] because we are granted these favours[6] by him (the Father). When he has ended the prayers and thanksgiving all the people present cry out, saying Amen. 4. But the word Amen in the Hebrew language means *so be it.* 5. And after the president has given thanks (made the Eucharist)[7] and all the people have cried out, those who are called by us deacons give to each one present to share the Eucharistic[8] bread and wine[9] and water, and carry them to those not present.

[1] Those who are baptized, the faithful.

[2] *φωτισθείς*, the man just baptized.

[3] *κρᾶμα*, literally 'mixture,' but very commonly used for wine.

[4] *προεστώς*, the bishop. [5] *ἐπὶ πολύ*, namely, it is a long prayer.

[6] *ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ.*

[7] *εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος.* The word *εὐχαριστία* may now generally be translated Eucharist. We shall see below (lxvi, 1) that it is already the technical name.

[8] *ὁ εὐχαριστηθεὶς ἄρτος.*

[9] *οἶνος* here, the regular word for wine. Harnack thinks that the elements in Justin are bread and water (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1891, vii, 2, pp. 115-144). He has been refuted by many people, both Catholic and Protestant. See especially Funk: *Die Abendmahlselemente bei Justin* in his *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, i, (Paderborn, 1897), 278-292, and A. W. F. Blunt in his edition of *The Apologies of Justin Martyr*, Cambridge, 1911, Introduction, pp. xlii.-xliv.

lxvi, 1. And this food is called by us Eucharist, of which no one else may have a share, except he who believes that our teaching is true and has been cleansed by the washing for the forgiveness of sins and regeneration, and so lives as Christ taught. 2. For we do not receive these things as common bread or common drink; but as Jesus Christ our Saviour having been made flesh by a word of God[1] had flesh and blood for our salvation, so we have learned that the food, made a Eucharist by a word of prayer that comes from him,[2] from which our blood and flesh are nourished, by change are the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus. 3. For the apostles in the commentaries made by them, which are called Gospels, have handed down that it was taught to them so: that Jesus having taken bread and having given thanks said[3]: Do this in memory of me: this is my body; and in the same way having taken the cup and having given thanks he said: This is my blood, and gave only to them. 4. The wicked demons, imitating this, have taught that it should be done in the mysteries of Mithra. You know or may learn that bread and a cup of water are placed there with certain hymns in the rites of initiation.

lxvii, 1. But we after this[4] always remind each

[1] *διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς.* There is considerable discussion whether "word of God" here means the personal Logos, or merely a word of command. See pp. 22-24.

[2] *τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν*, a famous and much disputed clause. See pp. 22-24.

[3] *τὸν Ἰησοῦν λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν.* This may be translated: "Jesus, having taken bread and made it a Eucharist, said . . . ". It is impossible to say when Justin has in his mind the technical sense of *εὐχαριστέω*. In any case the pagans for whom he wrote would always read it as 'to give thanks' and would probably be puzzled when he uses it as an active or passive verb.

[4] That is: after baptism and the first Eucharist that followed it immediately.

other of these things; those who can, help the destitute, and we are always united amongst ourselves. 2. And we bless the maker of all things for all we receive, through his son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Ghost. 3. And on the day called of the Sun an assembly in one place is made of all who live in the towns and in the country; and the commentaries of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time allows. 4. Then, when the reader has stopped, the president makes a warning and an exhortation about the memory of these admirable things in a speech. 5. Then we all stand up together and send up prayers and, as I have said, when we have finished the prayer, bread is brought up and wine and water, and the president sends up prayers and likewise[1] thanksgivings, as far as he has the power, and all the people cry out saying: Amen, and each one receives a distribution and share of the Eucharist and it is taken to those not present by the deacons. 6. But the wealthy people who wish to do so give what they please, each one as he likes, and what has been collected is handed over to the President and he supports orphans and widows and those who are in difficulties through sickness or any other cause, and prisoners and strangers on their travels; and in general he is the protector of all who are in want. 7. We all make our reunion on the day of the sun, since that is the first day on which God, changing the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For they crucified him on the eve of the day of Kronos and on the day after that of Kronos, which is the day of the sun,

[1] *δμοίως καί.* Drews (*Untersuchungen u. s. w.*, 70-71), translates this "in the same way and," and thinks that it means that the "prayers" were said in the same way as those of the people, just mentioned (so are an Intercession). In view of Justin's frequent use of the formula I no longer think this can really be urged. But see what he says (*loc. cit.*).

appearing to his apostles and disciples he taught them these things which I offer to your consideration." That is a literal translation of this famous passage. Its length, redundance and awkwardness of expression are characteristic of Justin's style.

We notice first that he describes the service of the Holy Eucharist twice over. It occurs first as the rite that immediately follows baptism (lxv, 1-5); then after an explanation of what it means (lxvi) he goes on to describe the normal life of a Christian and so explains that on Sunday Christians meet together and celebrate the Eucharist, which he describes over again (lxvii, 3-7). Both accounts refer to the same Eucharistic rite,[1] as he says (lxvii, 5: "as I have mentioned"). We may therefore combine them to form a complete picture. The word "Eucharist" is now clearly the technical name for the consecrated bread and wine (lxvi, 1: "this food is called by us Eucharist"). We need in future have no scruple in understanding it so and need no longer translate it "Thanksgiving". Justin's open and complete account of the whole service and of its meaning argues that there is as yet no *disciplina arcani*. He attributes the rite to our Lord's institution as contained in the gospels (lxvi, 3), though his account is not an exact quotation from any one evangelist. He insists on Sunday as the day of its celebration (lxvii, 3, 7).[2] Only the baptized who lead good lives may attend and receive Communion (lxvi, 1). This implies the possibility of excommunication of wicked people. The Eucharist is the sign and bond of union between Christians (lxvii, 1), the memory of Christ's life and

[1] Except that in the baptismal Eucharist the baptism takes the place of the liturgy of the catechumens. It is followed at once by the liturgy of the faithful beginning with their prayers and the kiss of peace. This again argues that the two services were essentially different rites.

[2] But it is also celebrated on other days, as for example immediately after a baptism.

passion (ib.),[1] an act of thanksgiving to God for all his benefits (lxvii, 2) and "the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus" (lxvi, 2). Certain passages of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*[2] confirm these points: bread with wine and water are the species consecrated (Dial. 41, 70, 117), Sunday is mentioned in c. 41. We can add from the Dialogue that the Eucharist is a real sacrifice offered only by priests (116) and that it contained a prayer explicitly naming our Lord's passion and death (the Anamnesis: 41, 117).

We come then to the question whether Justin implies that the words of Institution were recited in the Eucharist. This is connected with that of the interpretation of the clause: *τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν*, which we have translated: *the food made a Eucharist by a word of prayer that comes from him.* The passage has been much discussed. It is obviously parallel to the former one: *διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (Jesus Christ having been made flesh by a word of God). The same "word" that caused the incarnation now causes the bread and wine to be made a Eucharist. What is this "word"? Many writers take it for granted that in the first clause it is the personal Word of God.[3] Supposing this, it seems natural that in the second clause too it should be understood personally. A number of people therefore translate *δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ* (turning round the two genitives) as:

[1] Cfr. Dial. 41, 70, 117.

[2] An artificial dialogue with a Jew Trypho (Rabbi Tarphon?) written later, in which Justin explains that the Jewish ceremonial law had only a temporary value (9-47), that to adore Christ is not polytheism (48-108), that Gentiles also are called to the Christian Church (109-142).

[3] Scheiwiller: *Die Elemente der Eucharistie in den ersten* 3 *Jhrhdtn* (Mainz, 1903) p. 35; Watterich: *Der Consecrationsmoment im hl. Abendmahl* (Heidelberg, 1896) p. 41; Hoppe: *Die Epiklesis* (Schaffhausen, 1864) pp. 251-253, Struckmann: *Die Gegenwart Christi in der hl. Euch.* (Vienna, 1905) p. 54, etc.

"by the prayer of the Word who came from him (God)," that is: the bread and wine are made a Eucharist by the prayer of our Lord who is the Word proceeding from God.[1] In spite of Salaville's objection[2] this does not seem impossible grammatically, at least as far as the clause *τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ* is concerned. Others understand Logos personally in the first clause, but as meaning simply 'word,' 'formula' (in the usual sense) in the second clause.[3]

The right interpretation seems to be that in both clauses Logos means, not the personal Word of God, but a word of power, an almighty command that causes effects above nature. This mighty word of God caused the Incarnation: in the same way the word of prayer that we have from Christ causes the consecration of the Eucharist.[4] So the use of Logos is parallel in both cases. The most obvious argument for this position is that in both clauses Justin uses it without the article — *διὰ λόγου θεοῦ*—*δι' εὐχῆς λόγου*. For the personal Word of God *ὁ λόγος* would seem more natural, as *ὁ υἱός* and *τὸ πνεῦμα* in lxv, 3.[5] There are moreover parallel examples for both clauses in this sense. In the Dialogue with Trypho Justin says that Eve received the word (*λόγος*) of the Serpent and brought forth disobedi-ence and death, but Mary received the message of the angel saying: 'Be it done unto me according

[1] So Watterich *op. cit.* (except that he thinks Logos to be the Holy Ghost in both cases: the principle would be the same as far as we are concerned—it would be a *person*). Mr. Edmund Bishop takes the view that it is the Second Person in both cases (in Dom. R. H. Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Cambridge: *Texts and Studies* viii, 1, 1909, pp. 158-163).

[2] In the *Echos d'Orient*, xii (1909), p. 222.

[3] Scheiwiller, l.c., Hoppe, l.c., etc.

[4] So Dreher: *Die Zeugnisse des Ignatius, Justin und Irenäus über die Eucharistie* (Sigmaringen, 1871) p. 12 (quoted by Salaville, l.c. p. 134).

[5] But he does use *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* for the Holy Ghost (lxi, 3, 13) and *δύναμις* (without the article) for the Son (xxxiii, 4, 6, etc.).

to thy word' and brought forth the Son of God.[1] Here logos plainly means only a message, a word of command. In another part of the first Apology he says that we praise God as much as we can by "a word of prayer and thanksgiving" (λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας)[2]. Here there is no doubt as to the construction; εὐχή can only be the genitive after λόγος. So we may take λόγος εὐχῆς in our passage in the same sense and translate: "a word of prayer that comes from him (Christ)."[3] What is this "word of prayer"? The question concerns the controversy about the Epiklesis. It is a prayer of thanksgiving, since by it the bread and wine are "made a Eucharist," and it is a *prayer*, not merely the statement: "This is my body etc."[4] It seems most reasonable to understand it of the whole prayer of Consecration, the whole Anaphora which consecrates the gifts, which in the opinion of the Fathers of Justin's time was handed down entire by our Lord and his apostles.[5]

But it may be taken as certain that this traditional "word of prayer," whether it involves also an Epiklesis or not, at least includes the words of Institution, in Justin's account. He insists on the fact that our Lord commanded the memory of his Passion to be made in the Eucharist (Dial. 41 and 117). This memory must include that of the Last Supper and of the words he spoke then, which are the only ones mentioned by Justin in this connexion (1 Apol. lxvi, 3, above p. 19).[6] We may then conclude certainly that the

[1] Dial. 100. [2] 1 Apol. xiii.

[3] So Struckmann: "das von ihm herkommende Wort des Gebets" (op. cit. p. 48), Batiffol: "une parole de prière qui vient de lui" (*Etudes d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 2e. série, Paris, 1906, p. 139).

[4] Rudelbach thought it was the Lord's Prayer (*Die Sacramentsworte*, Nördlingen, 1851, p. 67, quoted by Hoppe and Salaville, l.c.).

[5] See below, pp. 51-52.

[6] So Drews: *Untersuchungen über die sogen. Clem. Lit.* p. 73. All this is set forth and defended at length by S. Salaville: *La liturgie*

words of Institution were recited in Justin's liturgy.

Putting together then the two liturgies described above (pp. 18-21) we have this scheme of the Eucharistic service at Rome in the early second century:—

1. Lessons from the Bible are read (lxvii, 3), apparently an indefinite number, "as long as time allows."

2. Sermon by the bishop (lxvii, 4).

3. A prayer said by all standing for all kinds of people. Presumably this prayer is said only by the Faithful (baptized), since the man just baptized is at once admitted to it (*Prayers of the Faithful.* lxv, 1; lxvii, 5).

4. Kiss of Peace (lxv, 2).

5. Bread and wine with water are brought up and received by bishop (lxv, 3; lxvii, 5).

6. The Thanksgiving (Eucharistic prayer, Anaphora) said by the bishop "at length" and "as far as he has the power" ("praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," lxv, 3). The Anaphora contains "prayers" (εὐχαί) as well as "thanksgivings" (εὐχαριστίαι), 1 Apol. lxvii, 5.

7. Memory of our Lord's passion, including the words of institution (Dial. 41, 117; 1 Apol. lxvi, 2-3).

8. The people end this prayer saying Amen (lxv, 3; lxvii, 5).

9. Communion under both kinds, also taken by the deacons to those who are absent (lxv, 5; lxvii, 5).

10. A collection for the poor, of which the place in the service is not clearly indicated (lxvii, 6).

décrite par S. Justin et l'epiclèse, in the *Échos d'Orient* xii, (1909) 129-136 and 222-227. Buchwald and others think that the "word of prayer" in Justin is the "blessing" (ברכה) spoken by our Lord at the last supper (εὐχαριστήσας); see pp. 404-405.

We have then from St. Justin a fairly complete outline of the Roman Liturgy of his time. No other antenicene writer gives us as complete a description of the rite. But from a great number of incidental allusions in other early Fathers we can verify each detail of St. Justin's account. We shall find that all these allusions confirm Justin; though without him we should often be uncertain as to the place of each element in the service. Justin's description then forms the background for our further enquiry. The other allusions give us sufficient ground for supposing in this first period a considerable uniformity in the service of the Holy Eucharist throughout the Church.[1]

Two other apologists of the second century, *Athenagoras* of Athens[2] and *Theophilus* of Antioch[3] add little to our knowledge of the liturgy. Athenagoras contrasts with pagan sacrifices that of the Christians, who recognize God as the maker of all things, heaven, earth, water, light and darkness, stars, plants, beasts and men, and lift up pure hands to him.[4] There is nothing in this obviously about the Eucharistic sacrifice, but his enumeration of the creatures is significant as agreeing with the lists in early prefaces[5] and we have at least one liturgical point—prayer with uplifted hands. In another place he mentions prayer for the emperor,[6] again an important element of the "prayers of the faithful" in the liturgy. Theophilus too speaks of prayer for the emperor.[7]

[1] The question of uniformity in the first three centuries is discussed below, pp. 47-53.

[2] Author of a "*Defence of Christians*" (Πρεσβεία περὶ χριστιανῶν. *Legatio pro christianis*) about the year 177 and of a work: *Of the resurrection of the dead*, written soon afterwards.

[3] Bishop of Antioch, author of an apology addressed to a pagan friend Autolycus (*Ad Autolycum*) written soon after 180.

[4] *Leg. pro Christ.* xiii. [5] See p. 64, etc.

[6] *Leg. pro Christ.* xxxvii. [7] *Ad Autol.* I. ii.

St. Irenæus has many allusions to liturgical ritual and prayers. He speaks of the Lessons read in church;[1] the offerings made according to Christ's command[2] are wine from the vine and bread from corn, first fruits of the earth, by which we glorify God their maker.[3] These receive "the word of God" and become the flesh and blood of Christ.[4] He quotes the words of institution and applies to the holy Eucharist Malachy's prophecy (Mal. i. 10-11).[5] He complains of the (Gnostic) followers of one Mark that they change the rite of the Eucharist. Mark "pretending to make a Eucharist of chalices (*εὐχαριστεῖν ποτήρια*) mixed with wine, drags out at length the word of the invocation (*τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως*)" and he allows women to make the Eucharist in his presence.[6] So Irenæus knows a form of Consecration that he calls "the word of the invocation" or "the word of God". In another place he speaks of the consecrating form as "the invocation of God".[7] He mentions "Amen," "said by us together,"[8] the sermon,[9] hymns,[10] offertory[11] and various liturgical forms.[12]

The apocryphal *Acts of Apostles*[13] contain some liturgical matter. The *Acts of John*[14] twice give a Eucharistic prayer in the form of a thanksgiving. Then the bread is broken and given to all, and finally the form: "Peace be with you all, beloved".[15] The *Acts*

[1] *Adv. hær.* IV, xxxiii, 8. [2] *Ib.* IV, xvii, 5. [3] *Ib.* IV, xviii, 4.
[4] V, ii, 3; cfr. IV, xviii, 4, 5. [5] IV, xvii, 5. [6] I, xiii, 2.
[7] IV, xviii, 5. See p. 403. [8] I, xiv, 1.
[9] I, ix, 5; IV, xxiv, 2; xxxiii, 8.
[10] II, ix, 1; xxviii, 3. [11] IV, xviii, 1, 2, 4, 6.
[12] I, iii, 1 (*εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*); I, x, 3; I, x, 1-2 (a creed).
[13] Gnostic legends of the II-III centuries. Greek texts in R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet: *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1898), and Bonnet: *Supplementum codicis apocryphi* (*ib.* 1883); Syriac texts with Engl. version in W. Wright: *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols., London, 1871).
[14] Lipsius and Bonnet: *op. cit.* II (i), 160-215.
[15] *Ib.* chap. 85-86 (p. 193); chap. 109-110 (pp. 207-208).

of Judas Thomas[1] also give two accounts of a Liturgy. In one the name of the Trinity is invoked over the bread and wine and there is an Invocation of "the power of the blessing and the thanksgiving" to "come and abide upon this bread".[2] The other has an Anamnesis and a form of administration.[3]

We have then from the second century a number of allusions to the Eucharistic service and the one invaluable description of St. Justin Martyr.

§ 4. The Fathers of the Third Century.

In this time the number of the Fathers and the extent of their works increase so much that it is no longer possible to trace all the allusions. Two circumstances moreover modify the situation. First, the growing practice of the *disciplina arcani* makes people reticent about the holy Eucharist. We have in the third century nothing like Justin's description. Secondly, instead of the uniformity (at least in the main lines)[4] of the service in the earliest period, we see already traces of the different practices in different countries which eventually brought about the different liturgies. From this time we must consider the rite of each local Church separately.

In the East we have as witnesses for Alexandria and Egypt, Clement of Alexandria († c. 215) and Origen († 251). Already in their writings we find points that we know to be peculiarities of the Alexandrine rite. *Clement* in his "Warning to the Gentiles"[5] invites them to leave their mysteries and the songs of the Mænads. He will show them instead the mysteries of the Logos, the chants of the

[1] Gnostic, early 3rd cent. In Wright: *op. cit.* II, 146-298.
[2] *Ib.* chap. 133 (p. 240). [3] Chap. 158 (pp. 268-269).
[4] See pp. 51-57. [5] *Cohortatio ad Gentes* (P.G. viii, 237-246).

Angels, the lessons of the Prophets. There follows a poetic allusion to the Eucharist: "The song is a hymn to the King of all things, the maidens sing psalms, the Angels praise him, the Prophets teach. O truly holy mysteries! The torches are borne in front and I see heaven and God. I am holy since I am consecrated (by my attendance). The Lord is the Priest, he seals the enlightened (baptized) and presents to the Father the faithful now saved for ever. . . . This eternal Jesus, the great High Priest of the one God, who is one with the Father, prays for men and teaches men. Come to me, that with me you may receive the gift of immortality. I give you the Logos, the knowledge of God and of yourself."[1] The people then sing psalms (Clement mentions maidens because of the pagan Mænads). Is the praise of the Angels the Sanctus? Lessons are read from the Prophets. We learn too that lights are carried in the liturgy. It is a sacrifice, celebrated by Christ, in which we are taught by him (in the reading of the Gospel) and he prays for us. In it we receive himself, the Logos; this is the gift of immortality.

In other places Clement speaks of the lessons read in church,[2] the singing of psalms[3] and hymns.[4] He distinguishes the various kinds of liturgical prayer. Probst says that *αἰτήσεις* and *δεήσεις* are for the catechumens, and that *εὐχαί* are the prayers of the faithful.[5]

After the lessons a sermon follows.[6] There is a kiss of peace.[7] Clement alludes again to the Sanctus

[1] *Cohortatio ad Gentes*, xii, 240-241 (condensed).
[2] *Stromata*, vii, 7 (P.G. ix, 469).
[3] *Pædagogus*, ii, 4 (P.G. viii, 444); *Strom.* i, 1 (*ib.* 705).
[4] *Pæd.* ii, 4 (P.G. viii, 445); *Strom.* vii, 7 (P.G. ix, 469). A famous hymn by Clement is extant: *Στόμιον πώλων ἀδαῶν* (Bridle of colts untamed), P.G. viii, 681-684. See Julian: *Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, 1892), ad voc.
[5] Cfr. Probst: *Lit. der drei ersten christl. Jhrhdte*, p. 135.
[6] *Strom.* vi, 14 (P.G. ix, 337). [7] *Pæd.* iii, 11 (P.G. viii, 660).

in the liturgy when he says that we "ever give thanks to God, as do the creatures (ζῶα) who praise him with hymns, of whom Isaias speaks in an allegory".[1] These ζῶα are the Seraphim of Is. vi, 2-3. We learn further that the Eucharist was broken and given to the people.[2]

Origen refers constantly to the Eucharistic service.[3] In his homilies he turns to the catechumens,[4] but he is careful not to speak of the mysteries before the uninitiated. So we have a distinction between the liturgy of the catechumens and that of the faithful. In the first there were readings from the Bible;[5] Origen often says in his homily: "Let us attend to what has been read".[6] The homilies themselves prove that the lessons were followed by a sermon, of which too he often speaks.[7] Psalms and hymns were sung:[8] he mentions the melodies of psalms.[9] He distinguishes the different kinds of prayers, according to 1 Tim. ii, 1,[10] insists on public prayer in church,[11] quotes liturgical prayers,[12] including the Lord's Prayer[13] and speaks of the attitudes

[1] *Strom.* vii, 12 (P.G. ix, 512). [2] *Ib.* i, 1 (P.G. viii, 692).

[3] From 231 to his death in 254 or 255 Origen lived mostly at Cæsarea Pal.; so many references in his later works may refer rather to the rite of Palestine in his time.

[4] In Luc. hom. vii (P.G. xiii, 1819).

[5] *Ib.;* In Gen. hom. i, 17 (P.G. xii, 160); iv, 1 (*ib.* 183); viii, 1 (*ib.* 203); In Ex. hom. i, 1 (P.G. xii, 297); In Lev. hom. i, 5 (*ib.* 411).

[6] In. Gen. hom. i, 17 (P.G. xii, 160).

[7] In Gen. hom. x, 1 (P.G. xii, 215). Cfr. In Ex. hom. vii, 8 (P.G. xii, 349); In Lev. hom. iv, 9 (P.G. xii, 444).

[8] In Iudic. hom. vi, 2 (P.G. xii, 974); In Psalm. hom. (P.G. xii, 1070).

[9] In Ps. hom. (P.G. xii, 1071). [10] *de Orat.* 14 (P.G. xi, 460-461).

[11] In Gen. hom. vii, 6 (P.G. xii, 203); In Lev. hom. vi, 6 (*ib.* 475); in Num. hom. x, 3 (*ib.* 640); xxiii, 3 (*ib.* 748); *contra Cels.* viii, 34 (P.G. xi, 1568).

[12] In Gen. hom. i, 17 (P.G. xii, 161); ii, 6 (*ib.* 175); vii, 6 (*ib.* 203); xiv, 4 (*ib.* 240); In Exod. hom. x, 4 (*ib.* 374); In Ier. hom. vi, 3 (P.G. xiii, 329), etc.

[13] *de Orat.* 18 (P.G. xi, 473); 21-30 (*ib.* 480-549).

of prayer.[1] After the prayers followed the kiss of peace.[2] Origen knows the liturgical Sanctus. In his commentary on Isaias, when he comes to Is. vi, 3, he says: "the coming of my Jesus is announced; therefore is the whole earth now full of his glory",[3] clearly an allusion to its use in the liturgy. In his work against Celsus he describes the consecration: "We who give thanks (*εὐχαριστοῦντες*) to the maker (*δημιουργός*) of all, eat the bread offered with thanksgiving and prayer which has become a certain holy body, which sanctifies those who eat it with healthy intention".[4] This was, however, written about 248, while he lived at Cæsarea Pal., and so refers rather to Palestine.

In another place he speaks of the "food sanctified by a word of God and prayer".[5] The indefinite "certain holy body" (*σῶμα ἅγιόν τι*), an expression chosen no doubt because of the arcanum, suggests the form used almost exclusively for the Blessed Sacrament in the Alexandrine liturgy.[6] Thus at the Communion in that rite the form was originally only: "Holy Body" (*σῶμα ἅγιον*).[7] In his treatise on Prayer Origen seems

[1] In Num. hom. xx, 1 (Cabrol-Leclercq: *Monumenta ecclesiæ liturgica*, I. no. 1246).
In Exod. hom. iii, 3 (P.G. xii, 316); in Reg. hom. i, 9 (*ib.* 1005); *de Orat.* 31 (P.G. xi, 549).
In Num. hom. v, 1 (P.G. xii, 603); *de Orat.* 32 (P.G. xi, 556). Compare in the Alexandrine liturgy the deacon's exclamation: "Look towards the East" before the Sanctus (Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 131).
In Num. hom. x, 3 (P.G. xii, 640).
In Iesu Nave hom. x, 3 (*ib.* 881).
de Orat. 31 (P.G. xi, 552); in Num. hom. v, 1 (P.G. xii, 603).
[2] In Rom. hom x, 33 (P.G. xiv, 1282).
[3] In Is. hom. i, 2 (P.G. xiii, 222). There is, of course, nothing about the coming of our Lord in the original text.
[4] *C. Cels.* viii, 33 (P.G. xi, 1565).
[5] In Mat. hom. xi, 14 (P.G. xiii, 948); cfr. 1 Tim. iv, 5.
[6] Even at the end of his life, in Palestine, he may remember the liturgical forms of his youth in Egypt. Or perhaps Palestine had the same form.
[7] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 140, cfr. p. 180.

to allude to the Anaphora, perhaps in the Alexandrine form. He calls it *τὴν εὐχήν*, a frequent name for this prayer (the petitions of the Liturgy of the Catechumens are *δεήσεις*, *ἐντεύξεις*, *προσευχάς*). The text is: "In the beginning and preface (*προοίμιον*) of the prayer (*τῆς εὐχῆς*) glory is given to God according to our power,[1] through Christ glorified with him in the Holy Ghost. After this each one should make thanksgivings in common for the favours granted to all and for those which he has received specially from God. After the thanksgiving let each be a penitent accuser of his sins before God and should ask first for help by which he may be set free from the habit of sin, then for forgiveness for the past. After the confession, in the fourth place, a prayer should be added for great and heavenly things, for oneself, for all, for one's family and friends. And after all these things the prayer should be ended with a doxology of God through Christ in the Holy Ghost." [2] This corresponds to the main arrangement of the Anaphora in the liturgy of St. Mark.[3] It begins [4] and ends [5] with a doxology, contains prayers praising God,[6] thanking him for creation and redemption,[7] interceding for all kinds of people,[8] asking forgiveness for sins [9] (the order is inverted here; but both these last ideas run into one another).[10] Communion was of course given under both kinds; [11] the consecrated bread was taken in the hand and sometimes carried home for Communion.[12] It appears

[1] An echo of Justin's expression, above, p. 20.
[2] *de Orat.* 33 (P.G. xi, 557-560).
[3] But *de Orat.* too was written in Palestine.
[4] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 125.
[5] *Ib.* p. 137. [6] P. 125. [7] 126. [8] 126-131.
[9] P. 137, cfr. the Coptic form of the Epiklesis, p. 178 and p. 183.
[10] The deacon takes up the Intercession again later, p. 138-139.
[11] In Ioh. hom. xxviii, 4 (P.G. xiv, 688).
[12] In Exod. xiii, 3 (P.G. xii, 391).

that in Origen's time Ps. xxxiii, 9 ("Taste and see for the Lord is good") was sung as a Communion Antiphon, as it is in the Antiochene liturgy.[1] He explains that verse: "Perhaps David when he tells us to taste Christ indicates with these words his body, in which a symbol of the Law is contained, since the Eucharistic Body of Christ includes the shew-breads".[2] But the most famous allusion to the Alexandrine liturgy in Origen is: "We often say in the prayers: Almighty God, grant us a share in the prophets, grant us a share in the Apostles of thy Christ, grant that we may be found with Christ himself".[3] In the liturgy of St. Mark we find in the Anaphora, after the diptychs of the departed, the words: "Grant us to have a share and a part with all thy saints" and there follows at once a memory of the saints of the Old and New Testaments and of their sacrifices.[4] So also when Origen says: "Let us stand and pray God that we may be worthy to offer him gifts which he will give back to us, returning heavenly things for earthly"[5] he echoes the words in the same prayer: "Receive moreover their Eucharistic gifts and give back to them heavenly things for earthly, eternal for temporal".[6] Other liturgical forms and practices are found in Origen, such as the sign of the cross,[7] the rudiment of vestments, inasmuch as the priest should be clothed in white linen,[8] possibly incense ("the altar of the Lord

[1] In the Alexandrine rite the Communion psalm is cl.

[2] Probst: *Lit. der 3 ersten Jhrdte*, p. 174.

[3] In Ier. hom. xiv, 14 (P.G. xiii, 421). [4] Brightman: *op. cit.* p. 129.

[5] In Luc. hom. xxxix (P.G. xiii, 1901-1902).

[6] Brightman: *op. cit.* p. 129. Mr. E. Bishop shows reason to believe that this clause is a later interpolation in the Mark liturgy, borrowed from Syria through Constantinople (*Journ. The. St.* x, 596-599). So here too Origen may be echoing a Syrian, not Egyptian form.

[7] In Exod. hom. vi, 8 (P.G. xii, 337); In Ps. xxxviii, hom. i, 5 (*ib.* 1405).

[8] In Lev. hom. iv, 6 (*ib.* 440, D).

which should be fragrant with the sweetness of incense," [1] unless this be merely metaphorical), the idea of an ornate ritual in general,[2] standing to receive Communion [3] and an allusion to the form: "Holy things for the holy," [4] common to all Eastern rites.[5]

Dionysius of Alexandria († 264) furnishes us with some liturgical information about Egypt. Christians pray publicly for the emperor; in mentioning this he seems to quote a liturgical formula: "We worship and adore *the one God and maker of all things* who has given the empire to the most pious august Valerian and Gallienus. To him we offer continual prayers for their empire, that it may stand firm and unbroken." [6] He describes the way in which Communion was received: "Who has heard the thanksgiving, has answered Amen with the others, who has stood at the table, and has stretched out the hands to receive the holy food and has taken a share in the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ" etc.[7] A curious story about a sick priest who sent a particle of the blessed Sacrament to a dying man by a boy [8] gives us an idea of the way it was then reserved. Dionysius mentions psalms sung in church [9] and a doxology used in the liturgy: "To God the Father and the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and might for ever and ever. Amen." [10]

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[1] In Iud. hom. iii, 2 (*ib.* 965, A).
[2] In Iesu Nave hom. x, 3 (*ib.* 881, C).
[3] In Luc. hom. xv, (P.G. xiii, 1839, C).
[4] In Lev. hom. xiii, 5 (P.G. xii, 551, B).
[5] Brightman: *op. cit.* Alexandria p. 138, Antioch p. 62 etc.
[6] Dionysius Alex.: ep. x, adv. Germanum, 5 (P.G. x, 1321, A); cfr. ep. xi, ad Hermammonem, 2 (*ib.* 1327, A).
[7] Ep. iv, ad Sixtum ii (P.L. v, 97, A).
[8] Ep. iii, ad Fabium Antioch. 11 (P.G. x, 1309-1312).
[9] Cabrol-Leclercq: *Monumenta eccl. liturgica*, no. 1524 (p. 143).
[10] Apol. ad Dionysium Rom. at the end (P.L. v, 128, B), also quoted by St. Basil; *de Spir. scto.* xxix, 72 (P.G. xxxii, 201, B).

(see p. 54) gives a fairly complete outline of a liturgy. This is generally supposed to be Antiochene. Dr. Baumstark thinks that it (and the fragments in Bk. vii) represent a different tradition from Bk. viii and are rather Egyptian in origin. Funk denies this and maintains that all Ap. Const. are compiled by the same person, in Syria.[1] Written down in the IVth century, no doubt it represents an earlier tradition, presumably of Syria.

As set in order by Brightman[2] the rite is:

I. *Liturgy of the Catechumens.*

1. Two lessons read by a reader (ἀναγνώστης) from the Old Testament.

2. Two readers chant psalms in turn and the people "repeat the last words" (τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω). This is the "responsory psalm" in which the whole text is chanted (from a psalter?) by one person and the people or choir echo the last cadences, possibly often the same form, as in our Invitatorium at Matins. Some psalms (e. gr. cxxxv) are evidently written to be sung in such a way).

3. The Acts of the Apostles and an Epistle are read.

4. A deacon or priest reads the Gospel, all standing in silence.

5. Some (not all) of the priests preach, lastly the bishop.

6. The catechumens and penitents are expelled. The doorkeepers and deaconesses watch the doors arrange the people and keep order.

[1] See below, pp. 54-55.

[2] *Op. cit.* 28-30. See also Cabrol-Leclercq: *Monum. eccl. liturg.* I, i, pp. 225-226.

II. *Liturgy of the Faithful.*

1. Prayers of the faithful, all standing towards the East.

2. The deacons bring up the offerings (bread and wine), others look after the people and keep them in silence.

3. The deacon who assists the bishop says: "No one (shall have any quarrel) against any one;[1] no one in hypocrisy". Kiss of peace.

4. The deacon prays for the Church, the world and all its parts, for the fruits of the earth, for priests and people, for the bishop and emperor, for peace, in the form of a litany (apparently the people answer each clause, as in the later forms of litany).

The bishop[2] prays: "Save thy people, O Lord, and bless thine inheritance, which thou hast acquired and dost possess by the precious blood of thy Christ, which thou hast called a royal priesthood and a holy nation".

5. "After this the sacrifice is made, the people all standing and praying in silence".

6. Communion (under both kinds); the women receive veiled. And the doors are watched that no pagan nor catechumen come in.

We notice in this description how little the writer says about the Eucharistic prayer, how reticent he is about this part, compared with his full account of the liturgy of the catechumens. It is again the fear of betraying the arcanum. But the Eucharist is called openly "the body of the Lord and the precious blood"[3]. In spite of this reticence we have here a great deal of information about the liturgical use of an early local church; its comparative agreement, as

[1] Μή τις κατὰ τινός. [2] He is called ἱερεύς and ἀρχιερεύς.
[3] Τὸ κυριακὸν σῶμα καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα.

far as it goes, with the other rite of the eighth book is significant.[1]

For the West we could wish we had any such account of the liturgy of this time at Rome. Unfortunately between Justin Martyr and the fourth century there is hardly anything. Two Roman writers of the third century, Hippolytus and Novatian, give us only the vaguest direct allusions, though in another way we can perhaps deduce more from them.[2]

Hippolytus[3] speaks of churches as "houses of God"[4] and says that in them God is worshipped with prayers and hymns.[5] In his commentary on the book of Proverbs he explains the text: "Wisdom has prepared herself a table" (Prov. ix, 1, 2) thus: "Every day his precious and immaculate body and his blood are consecrated and offered on the mystic and divine table, in memory of that memorable first table of the mysterious divine repast".[6]

Nor can we gather much from *Novatian.*[7] In Chap. VIII of his *de Trinitate,* after a list of God's benefits to mankind, which seems to suggest the similar lists in the Preface of the earliest liturgies,[8] he alludes to

[1] See p. 61. [2] See p. 64.

[3] The first antipope. He was a rival of Pope Callixtus I (217-222), a Subordinationist and author of ten books of *Philosophumena*, of which a part is extant (P.G. xvi, 3017-3454) and other works. He was eventually reconciled to the lawful Pope (Pontianus, 230-235) and died with him in exile in Sicily in 235. He writes in Greek. Concerning the so-called "Canons of Hippolytus" see below, pp. 56-59.

[4] In Susannam, 22 (P.G. x, 693, C).

[5] In Dan. (*Mon. Eccl. liturg.* no. 2285f, p. 204).

[6] Hipp. In Prov. (P.G. x, 628, B).

[7] Novatian was the second antipope, in the time of Cornelius (251-253); he also founded a sect of Rigorists who refused any reconciliation to people guilty of apostacy and other grave sins. His chief work is *de Trinitate* (ed. by Fausset, *Cambridge Patristic Texts*, 1909).

[8] This already touches the question discussed below, pp. 61-66; see especially p. 64.

the angels in a way that suggests the liturgical Sanctus: "Hence he (God) sits above the Cherubim and under his throne are the animals (animalia) who have power above the others".[1] Who are these "animals"? "Animalia" translates[2] very well the ζῶα of Clement of Alexandria[3] and the Alexandrine liturgy,[4] who are the Seraphim that sing the Sanctus. Otherwise we have nothing about the Roman liturgy in the third century.

The story told by Irenæus in his letter to Pope Victor I, that when St. Polycarp († c. 168) came to Rome in the time of Pope Anicetus (c. 157— c. 168) the Pope "granted the (celebration of the) Eucharist in church to Polycarp as a mark of honour"[5] serves to confirm our impression of a certain uniformity in the liturgy in the second century.[6] One may presume that such a concession would not have been possible unless Polycarp of Smyrna had celebrated in much the same way as the Romans. Tertullian, though an African, tells us of the Lessons read at Rome. The Roman Church, he says, "combines (miscet) the Law and the Prophets with the Gospels and the Apostolic letters and draws her faith from them. She signs it (her faith) with water, clothes it with the Holy Ghost, feeds it with the Eucharist"—clearly an allusion to the Liturgy and its lessons.[7]

We are more fortunate with regard to Africa. Most of our knowledge of the African rite comes from the writings of St. Augustine († 430) and so is Post-

[1] Novatian: *de Trin.* viii (P.L. iii, 899, C).
[2] Novatian writes in Latin. [3] Above p. 30.
[4] "before thee stand thy two most honourable creatures (ζῶα), the many-eyed Cherubim and six-winged Seraphim" Brightman, p. 131. For the origin of this name see Hab. iii, 2. (in the LXX); Apoc. iv, 6; v, 11, 14, etc.
[5] In Eusebius H.E. v, 24. [6] See below § 5, pp. 51-57.
[7] *De Præscript.* (written about 200). 36, (P.L. ii, 49-50). The same text contains a rudimentary Roman Creed.

Nicene. For the first three centuries we have chiefly Tertullian († c. 220) and St. Cyprian († 258).

The Church of Africa was the first to use Latin. The earliest known Christian Latin authors are Africans. It seems that Latin was the liturgical language of Africa while Greek was still used at Rome.[1] *Tertullian* gives a great deal of incidental information about the African rite of the IIIrd cent.; Abbot Cabrol considers that no other writer of the same antiquity supplies so much.[2] But the *disciplina arcani* makes him reticent about the Canon. The Mass of the Catechumens contains lessons from Scripture, sung psalms, a sermon and prayers.[3] Tertullian says that Africa agrees with Rome in having lessons.[4] Among these pastoral letters of bishops are read.[5] Psalms are sung alternately by two cantors between the lessons.[6] The Catechumens and penitents are expelled after the sermon.[7] The attitude of public prayer is standing with uplifted hands, facing the East.[8] He describes the clauses of public prayer: "Lifting up our hands . . . we pray always for all the emperors, that they may have a long life, a firm empire, a safe home, strong armies, a faithful senate, loyal people, quiet territory and whatever else may be desired by men and by Cæsar".[9] There was a kiss of peace after "prayer with the brethren".[10] This was usual in all public

[1] See p. 126.

[2] *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrét. et de liturgie.* Afrique (Liturgie antenicéenne) I, col. 593.

[3] *de Anima*, 9 (P.L. ii, 660).

[4] *de Præscript.* 36 (P.L. ii, 49); cfr. *Apolog.* 22 (P.L. i, 408).

[5] *de Pud.* 1 (P.L. ii, 981); *de Præscr.* 51 (*ib.* 71).

[6] *ad Vxor.* ii, 9 (P.L. i, 1304).

[7] *de Præscr.* 40 (*ib.* 56); cfr. *Apol.* 39 (P.L. i, 469), where "divina censura" seems to mean this expulsion.

[8] *Apol.* 16 (P.L. i, 370-371); *ad Nat.* i, 13 (P.L. i, 579, A); *de Spect.* 25 (*ib.* 657, A); *de Orat.* 14 (*ib.* 1169, A).

[9] *Apol.* 30 (P.L. i, 443); cfr. *ib.* 32 (P.L. i, 447, A), 39 (*ib.* 468); *d Scap.* 2 (*ib.* 700, A); *de Orat.* 29 (*ib.* 1196, A).

[10] *de Orat.* 18 (P.L. i, 1176-1178); cfr. *ad Vxor.* ii, 4 (*ib.* 1295).

prayers.[1] Its place in the Mass is not here clearly defined. We know that later in Africa it came in connexion with the Lord's Prayer, before the Communion, as now at Rome (p. 370). After the "administration of the word" (Mass of the Catechumens) the "offering of the sacrifice" (Mass of the Faithful) follows.[2] He alludes to the beginning of the preface and to the Sanctus: "Certainly it is right that God should be blessed by all men in every place and at all time for the due memory always of his benefits. . . . To whom that court of angels does not cease to say Holy, holy, holy. Wherefore we, fellows of the angels if we deserve to be, learn that heavenly voice towards God and the duty of future glory already here (*sc.* on earth)."[3] The "thanksgivings (gratiarum actiones)" are said over the bread;[4] he also calls this "to consecrate (consecrare)".[5] He quotes the words of Institution at the last Supper,[6] but says nothing about their use at Mass. The Lord's Prayer was said,[7] it is the "legitima oratio";[8] its place in the service is not defined. People received Communion under both kinds, the celebrant giving the consecrated bread, the deacons the chalice.[9] Apparently they received the form of bread in the hands;[10] they are careful that nothing fall to the ground.[11] To the form of ad-

[1] Some people wanted to omit the kiss on fast days. Tertullian allows this omission only on Good Friday (which he calls "dies paschæ"), *de Orat. loc. cit.*

[2] *de Cultu Fem.* ii, 11 (P.L. i, 1329, B). He constantly calls Mass the Sacrifice; cfr. *de Orat.* 14 (P.L. i, 1170); *adv. Marc.* iii, 22 (P.L. ii, 353), etc.

[3] *de Orat.* 3 (P.L. i, 1156).

[4] *adv. Marc.* i, 23 (P.L. ii, 274, A); cfr. *ib.* iv, 9 (*ib.* 376, A).

[5] *de Anima*, 17 (P.L. ii, 676, C). Other terms are *benedictio* (*adv. Marc.* iii, 22, *ib.* 353, B), *eucharistia* (*de Cor.* 3, P.L. ii, 79, A, etc.).

[6] *adv. Marc.* iv, 40 (P.L. ii, 460, C).

[7] *de. Orat.* 3-4 (P.L. i, 1156-1157).

[8] *de Fuga*, 2 (P.L. ii, 105).

[9] *de Corona*, 3 (P.L. ii, 79-80).

[10] *de. Idol.* 7 (P.L. i, 669, A).

[11] *de Cor.* 3 (P.L. ii, 80, A).

ministration (presumably: "The body of Christ," "The blood of Christ")[1] they answered Amen. The holy Eucharist could be taken home (in the form of bread only) and could be there received fasting.[2] Other liturgical details in Tertullian are: Sunday was the holy day on which particularly the Eucharist was celebrated;[3] there were also station-days and feasts.[4] But Mass was said every day too, very early in the morning.[5] The altar contained relics;[6] incense was used only for funerals.[7] The Agape still exists in Africa; here too it was becoming disorderly.[8] Tertullian quotes several liturgical formulas. People sang Alleluia[9]; they said: "For ever, from ever" in Greek (εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος).[10] In referring to the Lord's Prayer he says we prepare the way for prayer "memoria præceptorum,"[11] which suggests its liturgical introduction; in writing of prayer for the emperor he says we invoke "Deum æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum,"[12] which also looks like a liturgical formula.

From *St. Cyprian* we have that the holy Eucharist was celebrated every day, early in the morning,[13] and particularly in memory of martyrs on their feasts.[14] The lessons, including the Gospel, are read by lectors

[1] It was so in St. Augustine's time: Serm. cclxxii (P.L. xxxviii, 1247); *ctra Faust.* xii, 10 (P.L. xlii, 259).
[2] *ad Vxor.* ii, 5 (P.L. i, 1296).
[3] *Apol.* 16 (P.L. i, 371); *ad Nat.* i, 13 (*ib.* 579); *de Idol.* 14 (*ib.* 682).
[4] *de Orat.* 19 (*ib.* 1181); *de Cor.* 11 (P.L. ii, 92).
[5] *adv. Marc.* iv, 26 (P.L. ii, 425); *de Cor.* 3 (*ib.* 79).
[6] *Scorpiace*, 12 (*ib.* 147).
[7] *Apol.* 42 (P.L. i, 493); *de Idol.* 11 (*ib.* 676).
[8] *Apol.* 39 (*ib.* 470); *de Ieiun.* 17 (P.L. ii, 977).
[9] *de Orat.* 27 (P.L. i, 1194).
[10] *de Spect.* 25 (P.L. i, 657). [11] *de Orat.* 10 (P.L. i, 1166).
[12] *Apol.* 30 (*ib.* 441). Compare in the Roman exorcism of salt: "per Deum vivum, per Deum verum, per Deum sanctum".
[13] Ep. lvii, 3 (Ed. Hartel, Vienna, 1868, ii, 652); Ep. lxiii, 15-16 (*ib.* 713-714); cfr. *de dom. Orat.* 18 (Hartel, i, 280).
[14] Ep. xxxviiii, 3 (Hartel, ii, 583).

from a high ambo;[1] they include bishops' pastoral letters.[2] Then comes a sermon.[3] The Catechumens ars expelled before the Eucharist; only the baptized may stay and receive Communion.[4] A number of texts give us lists of objects for which public prayers were said; these are the same that we see in Tertullian and in the earliest liturgical texts, namely the Church and her unity,[5] the Pope,[6] other bishops, priests, confessors in prison,[7] benefactors,[8] enemies, the conversion of sinners, removal of evils, peace, forgiveness of sins and the salvation of all men.[9] He refers to the offertory[10] and to the reading of the diptychs.[11] The chalice contained wine and water. Some bishops of St. Cyprian's province wanted to use wine only. Against this abuse he protests vehemently, insisting on the mixture of wine and water, as our Lord had used it at the last Supper.[12] The water represents the faithful joined to Christ.[13] He even says that wine alone can no more be used than water alone.[14] He quotes "Sursum corda" and the answer: "Habemus ad Dominum,"[15] also the words of Institution, with the verb (in the form for the chalice) in the future (effundetur), as in the Roman rite,[16] and insists on the necessity of doing everything just as

[1] Ep. xxxviii, 2 (*ib.* 580-581); Ep. xxxviiii, 4-5 (*ib.* 583-584).
[2] Ep. xi, 7 (*ib.* 500).
[3] *de Mortalitate*, i (Hartel, i, 297). He says that he preaches on the lesson just read.
[4] Ep. lxiii, 8 (Hartel, ii, 706-707).
[5] *de dom. Orat.* 8, 17 (Hartel, i, 271, 279).
[6] Ep. lxi, 4 (Hartel, ii, 697). [7] Ep. xxxvii, 1, 4 (*ib.* 576, 578).
[8] Ep. lxii, 5 (*ib.* 700).
[9] Ep. xxx, 6 (*ib.* 554); *de dom. Or.* 3, 8, 17 (i, 268, 271, 279); *ad Demetr.* 25 (*ib.* 369-370).
[10] Ep. xxxiiii, 1 (Hartel, ii, 568). The people offered bread and wine. *de Opere et Eleem.* 15 (i, 384).
[11] Ep. i, 2 (*ib.* 466). [12] Ep. lxiii (ii, 701-717).
[13] Ep. lxiii, 13 (*ib.* 711). [14] *Ib.* [15] *de dom. Orat.* 31 (i, 289).
[16] Ep. lxiii, 9, 10 (ii, 708).

our Lord did at the last Supper.[1] "We make mention of his passion in every sacrifice"[2] refers either to the anamnesis, or to such a formula as: "qui pridie quam pateretur". Whether another sentence in the same letter: "We celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the morning"[3] implies a formal mention of the resurrection at Mass seems more doubtful. At the end of the service (sollemnibus adimpletis) came the Communion.[4] It was received under both kinds, the deacon bearing the chalice; it appears that all present were expected to receive the holy Eucharist.[5] The consecrated bread was taken in the hand.[6] A man who "although in sin dared, by concealing this, to receive his share of the sacrifice celebrated by the priest, could not handle and eat the holy thing of the Lord, but found on opening his hands that he held ashes".[7] The blessed Sacrament could be taken home in a little box for Communion later. "When a certain woman tried with unclean hands to open her box (arcam suam) in which was the holy thing of the Lord, she was frightened by fire which came out of it, lest she dare touch."[8] There was a formula of dismissal. A man being "dismissed from the house of the Lord (dimissus e dominico) and still carrying the Eucharist, as he was accustomed (et adhuc gerens secum ut assolet eucharistia)" bore the "holy body of Christ (Christi sanctum corpus)" to a house of bad repute.[9] Among liturgical forms quoted by Cyprian we have already seen: "Sursum corda" and its answer. There are a few other expressions which may be echoes of such

[1] *Ib.* 10 (ii, 709). [2] *Ib.* 17 (ii, 714).
[3] *Ib.* 16 (ii, 714). [4] *de Lapsis*, 25 (Hartel, i, 255). [5] *Ib.*
[6] *de Lapsis*, 15 (*ib.* i, 248).
[7] *de Lapsis*, 26 (i, 256). [8] *Ib.*
[9] *de Spectaculis*, 5 (Hartel, iii, 8). This work is probably by Novatian. Cfr. Bardenhewer: *Gesch. der altkirchl. Litteratur* (Freiburg i. Br. 1903), ii, p. 443.

forms, such as: Inter cætera salutaria monita et præcepta divina . . . monuit et instruxit" of the Lord's prayer,[1] which suggests its introduction. The formula "in mente habeamus" which occurs in St. Cyprian[2] and in several other African Fathers may well be a quotation from the deacon's litany at the "Prayers of the Faithful".[3]

Commodian also quotes the "Sursum corda".[4] The Acts of the African martyrs, St. Perpetua and St. Felicitas († 6 March, 203, at Carthage), contain some liturgical details. The saints are in prison and there see a vision, in which are obvious memories of the liturgy. They come to a place whose walls seem made of light, before whose gate stand four angels. The angels say: "Come first, enter and greet the Lord," and clothe them in white. They hear united voices saying without ceasing: "Agios, agios, agios".[5] They give each other the kiss of peace. Saturus, one of their companions, says: "Perpetua, now you have what you want". She answers: "Deo gratias". Before that Perpetua (in the vision) had received a mystic food (de caseo quod mulgebat quasi buccellam) from a shepherd (who is our Lord); she joins her hands, eats, and all answer "Amen".[6]

The other African writers of this time, Arnobius and Lactantius, add little or nothing to our knowledge of

[1] *de dom. Orat.* 2 (Hartel, i, 267).

[2] Ep. lxii, 5 (Hartel, ii, 701); Ep. lxxviiii (*ib.* 838).

[3] See W. C. Bishop: *The African Rite* (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, xiii, 1912, pp. 254-255).

[4] *Instruct.* 76 (P.L. v, 258). Commodian's date (III, IV or V cent.) and place (Africa, Gaul or Palestine) are doubtful. Bardenhewer: *op cit.* ii, 584-586.

[5] There seem to have been a number of Greek formulas in the early African rite. Tertullian quotes: *εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος* in Greek (above, p. 41).

[6] *Passio SS. Felicitatis et Perpetuæ*, in Knopf: *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten* (Tübingen, 1901), pp. 52, 47.

the liturgy.[1] On the other hand in the fourth and fifth centuries there is a mass of liturgical matter in St. Augustine († 430), and Optatus of Mileve († before 400), of which, no doubt, much represents the rite of the ante-Nicene African Church.

Hitherto it has generally been supposed that Africa and Rome were liturgically allied. The Rev. W. C. Bishop has now shown reason to class the African rite rather among the non-Roman Western family, called by the general name Gallican (see p. 98). In particular he finds a resemblance between the liturgies of Africa and Spain. Most of his evidence is taken from St. Augustine; but he finds some in Cyprian and Tertullian too. Moreover, if we accept his thesis, we must also apply it to the earlier period. It is not to be supposed that the Church of Africa changed her rite between St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, though, no doubt, gradually she developed it. We should therefore conclude that, as soon as a special rite was developed at all, Africa, like all the rest of the West, except Rome, evolved a liturgy of the Gallican type.

Mr. Bishop's arguments in outline are these. The Calendar has affinities to that of Spain. There are Rogation days and a Paschal Candle, which in Augustine's time were not Roman,[2] but were Gallican and Mozarabic. The African lectionary (in St. Augustine) agrees closely with the Mozarabic cycle and differs from Rome.[3] The catechumens were dismissed after the Gospel; there is a blessing by the celebrant after the consecration; the Postcommunion is a thanksgiving, there is an Invocation of the Holy Ghost. These are Gallican and Mozarabic, not Roman features

[1] Liturgical texts from them will be found in Cabrol and Leclercq: *Mon. Eccl. Lit.* i, 188-190.

[2] See Duchesne: *Origines du Culte* (ed. ii), pp. 277, 241.

[3] For instance, Genesis in Lent and Acts in Eastertide (both attested by Augustine) are originally Mozarabic, not Roman, custom.

at that time (though the Invocation at Rome is much disputed; see pp. 405-407). Cyprian actually quotes the Spanish Prayers of the faithful;[1] their formula "in mente habeamus" occurs in several African Fathers (p. 44). In the baptism rite there are definitely Spanish features (but also Roman ones). On the other hand the kiss of peace came after the consecration, as now in the Roman rite.[2] Lent lasted forty days (including Holy Week) as at Rome (and Milan); whereas in Spain it consisted of two parts, each three weeks long. Mr. Bishop's conclusion is that the early African rite was more like that of Spain than that of Rome, though it had its own special features and may, even as early as St. Augustine, already have been modified in some points in a Roman direction.[3] He gives the order of the Mass, as he finds it in St. Augustine.[4]

Confining ourselves to the first three centuries, we find this general outline in Tertullian, St. Cyprian and the other sources already quoted:—

I. *Mass of the Catechumens.*

Lessons read from a high ambo by a reader. They consist of the Law, prophets, epistle, Gospel, also letters of bishops.

Between the lessons two cantors sing psalms. Alleluia is also sung.

Sermon.

Expulsion of the catechumens and penitents.

[1] Ep. lxii, 5 (see p. 44).

[2] But this leads to another question: When was the Roman Pax put at its present place? See p. 370.

[3] W. C. Bishop: *The African Rite* (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, xiii, 1912, pp. 250-277). At the end (pp. 270-277) is a series of texts from which the rite may be reconstructed.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 253.

II. *Mass of the Faithful.*

Prayers of the faithful, presumably in litany form with a response. Probably the diptychs were read here.

Kiss of peace (in Tertullian)?

Offertory of bread and wine. Collections for the poor were also made. The wine is mixed with water.

Sursum corda with its answer and the Eucharistic prayer.

Sanctus (in Greek?).

Words of Institution.

Memory of Christ's passion (and resurrection?)

Fraction and Lord's prayer.

Later writers (St. Augustine) put the kiss of peace here.

Communion under both kinds, the celebrant giving the consecrated bread, the deacons the chalice. Everyone present receives Communion (standing; the form of bread in the hand?). They answer Amen to the words of administration. The blessed Sacrament is reserved, in the form of bread only, and is so carried away.

Dismissal of the people.

§ 5. Liturgical Uniformity in the first three Centuries.

The accounts of the liturgy we have seen from different places, Rome, Gaul, Africa, Alexandria, Antioch, show considerable uniformity. The outlines given above agree in their general scheme. We have further direct evidence of uniformity in this time. For instance the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians is full of liturgical allusions, as is well known. He evidently refers to what was done at Rome; yet it is equally evident that he expects the people of Corinth to understand his allusions. This argues

uniformity between Rome and Corinth. Clement says in so many words: "We must do all things that the Lord told us to do at stated times in proper order," etc. (above, pp. 11-12). The whole text shows that there was already a fixed order for the Eucharist. Ignatius of Antioch also insists on the one Eucharist in a way that implies a uniform rite (p. 15). What is specially important, as showing that the liturgy was at least to some extent uniform, is the constant belief of the Fathers that its arrangement was a tradition from Christ and his apostles. Clement attributes the order of the service to rules made by our Lord.[1] So also Justin tells us that on Easter day our Lord appeared to his apostles and disciples and "taught them these things,"[2] that is all the rite Justin has described. Eusebius even knows the place where this happened. St. Helen built a church on the Mount of Olives over a cave (the Church of the Ascension); "now true history tells us that the Saviour of all taught his apostles the secret mysteries in this very cave (*μυεῖν τὰς ἀποῤῥήτους τελετάς*)," [3] that is the ritual—they knew the essence of the mysteries already since the Last Supper. How far these Fathers are right in their idea that the service was drawn up by our Lord himself does not matter for our purpose. The point to be noted is that they could not have thought that unless there was in their time a fixed order.[4] Against this we must place other texts that imply a certain amount of liberty and disagreement. The Didache says that the prophets may give thanks "as much as they will"; [5] so Justin; [6] and the Egyptian Church Order says that the celebrant may pray freely.[7]

[1] Above, p. 12. [2] *Apol.* lxvii, 7; p. 21 above.

[3] Euseb. *Vita Constantini*, iii, 43 (P.G. xx, 1104).

[4] The idea that the Mithraists copied the Christian liturgy also argues a uniform scheme, which could be copied. See Justin: 1 *Apol.* lxvi, 4; Tertullian: *de Præscr.* 40 (P.L. ii, 54-55).

[5] *Did.* x, 7 (above, p. 9).

[6] 1 *Apol.* lxv, 3; lxvi, 5 (above, pp. 18, 20).

[7] § 34 (ed. Horner, p. 309).

Much later Firmilian of Cæsarea writes to St. Cyprian complaining of Pope Stephen I's rule about heretical baptism (in the middle of the IIIrd century). In this letter he complains of the Pope's insistence on Roman customs for other Churches and points out that ritual is not the same everywhere. "Concerning many divine sacraments there are differences, nor are all things observed there (at Rome) as at Jerusalem, indeed in other provinces many things are varied according to the difference of men and places; yet there is no schism from the peace and unity of the Catholic Church because of this".[1] But this was written after the various rites had begun to be evolved. In the earlier period we must reconcile the two kinds of statement and understand the uniformity in this way: There was certainly no absolute uniformity in every prayer and every detail of ceremonial, as in our Missal now. The prayers were neither read from a book nor learned by heart. Liturgical books do not appear till later.[2] The lessons were of course read from a Bible; psalms and the Lord's prayer were known by heart; otherwise the prayers were all extempore. As for ceremonial, there was none, or practically none. Things were done as they had to be done for some practical purpose, in the simplest way. The bread and wine were brought when the moment came at which they were wanted, the lessons were read in a loud voice from a convenient place whence they could be heard, and everyone sat down to listen. Only we may naturally suppose that things were done decently and reverently, that gradually and inevitably signs of respect were made. All ritual grew naturally out of these purely practical actions, just as vestments evolved out of ordinary dress. The

[1] Firm. *ad Cypr.* Among Cyprian's letters no. lxxv, 6 (Hartel, ii, 813). But Firmilian too speaks of an "ecclesiastica regula" for the liturgy (*ib.* 10, p. 818).

[2] See pp. 113, 117. The fragment of Deir Balizeh (see p. 94) is of the IIIrd or perhaps the end of the IInd cent. We may perhaps count written forms from about the IIIrd cent.

only really ritual actions we find in the first two centuries or so are certain postures, kneeling or standing for prayer, and such ceremonies as the kiss of peace, all of which were inherited from the Jews and are indeed common to all religions.[1] But we can understand that the order, the general outline of the service would become constant almost unconsciously. People who do the same thing continually, naturally do it in much the same way. There was no reason for changing; to reverse the order suddenly would disturb and annoy people. They knew for instance at which moment to expect the lessons, when to go up for their Communion, when to stand for psayer. The fact that the catechumens were present at some part of the service, but must not see other parts, involved a certain amount of uniform order.

But the prayers too, although there was as yet no idea of fixed forms, would naturally tend towards uniformity, at least in outline. Here also habit and custom would soon fix their order. Everything was said aloud. The people knew when to expect the prayer for the emperor, the thanksgiving, the petitions. The dialogue form of prayer, of which we have many traces in this first period, also involves uniformity, at least in the general idea of the prayers. The people made their responses, Amen, 'Lord have mercy,' 'Thanks be to God' and so on at certain points, because they knew more or less what the celebrant would say each time. In a dramatic dialogue each side must be prepared for the other. So the order and general arrangement of the prayers would remain constant. We are not surprised to find as a matter of fact that this is the case in the examples and fragments we have seen. Justin Martyr's outline (p. 25), that of the Second book of the Apostolic Constitutions (pp. 35-36), the liturgy as

[1] Tertullian mentions the sign of the cross (*de Cor.* 3, P.L. ii, 80).

represented by Tertullian and St. Cyprian (pp. 39-44), though they are respectively the services of Rome in the second century, of Antioch and Carthage in the third, agree in the disposition of their parts, in the main ideas of the prayers. But the uniformity and constancy of the rite went further. We find in many cases the very same words used; whole formulas, sometimes long ones, recur. This too can easily be understood. In the first place there were many formulas that occur in the Old or New Testament, that were well-known in the Jewish services. These were used as liturgical formulas by Christians too. Such forms are: Amen, Alleluia, 'Lord have mercy,' 'Thanks be to God,' 'For ever and ever,' 'Blessed art thou O Lord our God,' (the Jewish formula which begins all blessings: ברוך אתה יהוה אלהינו) and so on. Moreover it will be noticed that extempore prayer always tends to fall into stereotyped formulas. A man who prays for the same object will soon begin to repeat the same words. This may be noticed in extempore preaching. It would hardly be possible for the bishop to use different words and forms each time he prayed (especially since all early Christian language was saturated with Biblical forms), even if he tried to do so. And why should he try? So the same expressions recurred over and over again in the public prayers.

But, it may be said, this explains a certain amount of uniformity in the prayers of the same celebrant or deacon; it does not account for uniform expressions in the prayers of different people, still less for uniformity among different Churches. This too can be understood. A formula constantly heard would soon be considered the right one, especially as in some cases (the psalms and Lord's prayer) the liturgy already contained examples of constant forms. A younger bishop when his turn came to celebrate, what could he do

better than continue to use the very words (as far as he remembered them) of the venerable predecessor whose prayers the people, and perhaps himself as deacon, had so often followed and answered with reverent devotion? As for other Churches, the new missions were founded from the great centres, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem. The missioners when they celebrated the holy mysteries for their new converts would again repeat the forms they had heard in the mother-church, and their successors would imitate them. That strong feeling of loyalty to the mother-church whence they had the faith, that we notice in all the early missionary Churches, would make them anxious to follow her in everything. For the rest, travelling, the continual intercourse between all Churches, such cases as that of St. Polycarp celebrating in Rome (p. 38), the great reputation of certain famous bishops, disciples of the apostles, for the sake of which other bishops would imitate them, the strong sense of unity between the Churches as we see it in St. Ignatius (p. 14), the idea of this unity as expressed especially in the Eucharist ("Be careful to use one Eucharist . . one body . . one chalice . . one altar"),[1] all these reasons would combine to produce a uniformity that went much further than the essential nucleus of the liturgy.

In any case, however we may explain it, it is a fact that during the first three centuries, although there were hardly yet books, nor a stereotyped rite, there was a remarkable uniformity in all the great Churches, as far as we see, from the beginning. But it was a uniformity of type rather than of detail, although in many cases the actual words are the same. In theory still each bishop prayed as he liked or could. So we find slight variations in the common forms. In the

[1] Ign. *ad Phil.* iv (above, p. 14).

earliest complete Eastern liturgy that we know the bishop begins the Eucharistic prayer: *Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν* (Sursum mentem [1]), St. Cyprian said: 'Sursum corda'.

We must then conceive the ante-nicene liturgy as a uniform *type*, still fluid and liable to change in its details. Gradually more and more of these details are fixed. They become customs and are kept as the tradition of the Church, for nothing is so conservative as liturgical instinct; but the whole rite is still more or less fluid, within a fixed outline. Out of this primitive fluid rite, by insistence on one detail in one place, on another somewhere else, by enlarging or shortening different parts in different Churches, the parent-rites, and then again, derived from them, all the old liturgies of Christendom are derived.[2]

§ 6. The Liturgy in the Early Church Orders.

There is a series of documents, known as "Church Orders," from which knowledge of the early liturgy may be gathered. Although most of these were compiled in or after the IVth century, nevertheless they are generally believed to contain earlier material. By a literary fiction they are ascribed to our Lord, as injunctions given to the apostles, or by the apostles through some early saint, Clement of Rome or Hippolytus.

The most famous of these are the so-called *Apostolic*

[1] *Apost. Const.* VIII, xii, 5.

[2] The various Lutheran, Anglican and other Prayer-books, Agendæ and so on, do not enter into our scheme. These were composed by various Reformers, partly out of the mediæval books (with considerable alterations according to the new theological ideas) and still more from copious new prayers and forms. They have no other connexion with any primitive rite than comes from the adaption of mediæval services and a few features gathered at haphazard from ancient liturgies. They show not even an attempted restoration of any known historical rite. Their interest is in their practical usefulness, not in any spontaneous or historic development from the original type of liturgy.

Constitutions.[1] They consist of eight books, thus compiled: Books I-VI are a reproduction of an older work, the *Didascalia*, which we know in Syriac[2] and in Latin fragments. But the compiler has made considerable modifications. Notably he has added the outline of a liturgy in Book II (pp. 34-36).[3] Book VII, 1-32 is the *Didache* (p. 8) with interpolations; VII, 33-49 consists of liturgical matter from an unknown source. Book VIII is a Church Order, containing a complete liturgy (in connexion with a bishop's ordination), whose relation with other Church Orders is much disputed. At the end follow eighty-five "Apostolic Canons". It seems clear that the compiler of this work was a Syrian living at or near Antioch;[4] he is now generally supposed to be the (possibly Apollinarist) composer of the pseudo-Ignatian letters. That he is Syrian is shown by his use of the Syrian civil calendar (V, xiv, 1; xvii, 3; xx, 3) and by his feasts, corresponding to those of Syria.[5] The date of the compiler of Ap. Const. is now generally admitted to be late IVth century. He writes after the conversion of the empire;[6] yet not long after.[7] Funk, however, dates the compilation as early Vth cent.,[8] Harnack as between 340 and 360.[9] It is also generally admitted

[1] Edited by Funk, with cognate documents: *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, 2 vols. Paderborn, 1905.

[2] In Syriac by Lagarde: *Didascalia apost. Syriace*, Leipzig, 1854; Latin in Funk: *op. cit.* parallel to the corresponding text of Ap. Const.

[3] For his interpolation here see Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, xlvi-xlvii.

[4] Maclean. *Ancient Church Orders* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 150, argues that the absence of metropolitans shows that he did not live at Antioch.

[5] See the evidence in Funk: *Die apostolischen Konstitutionen* (Rottenburg, 1891), pp. 96-97, 164-165, 314, 366; Brightman: *op. cit.* xxviii-xxix; Maclean: *op. cit.* 150.

[6] Ap. Const. VI, xxiv, 1-3. [7] Brightman, p. xxix.

[8] *Die apost. Konst.* p. 95 (see his reasons, pp. 78-96).

[9] *Lehre der 12 Apostel* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 241-268.

that the compiler of the whole work, the interpolator of Didascalia and Didache are the same person. But Dr. Baumstark thinks that the liturgical fragments in Ap. Const. II and VII show a different type of service from that of Book VIII. This is admittedly Antiochene. But, he says, the liturgy in II and VII is of the Egyptian type. In this liturgy all the historic books of the Old Test. occur for the first lesson, in VIII only the Law; the kiss of peace comes after the Offertory, in VIII before; there are a litany by the deacon after the kiss and a blessing of the people before the anaphora, not in VIII. So he thinks that the compiler of I-VII used an Egyptian type of liturgy (possibly celebrated on the Phoenician coast) for his interpolations. The man who uses the Antiochene rite in VIII would not have used another one for I-VII. Baumstark then concludes that Ap. Const. I-VII and VIII are separate compilations, only loosely joined.[1] Against this we must place the "marked characteristics, literary and theological"[2] which are common to the whole work (and the Apost. Canons), from which most people, with Brightman, conclude that "the constitutions are therefore a unity, and with the Canons are the work of a single compiler".[3] Funk had already denied Baumstark's idea.[4]

We are chiefly concerned with the "Church Order" and Liturgy (often called the "Clementine" Liturgy)[5] of Ap. Const. VIII. In order to appreciate it, its relation with other similar works is of great importance.

[1] *Oriens Christianus* (Rome), vol. vii (1907), pp. 388-407: *Aegypt. oder antioch. Liturgietypus in A. K. I-VII?*

[2] Brightman, p. xxiv.

[3] *East. Lit.* pp. xxiv-xxv.

[4] *Kirchengesch Abhandlungen u. Untersuchungen*, III (Paderborn, 1907) no. xviii: *Die Arabische Didaskalia* (pp. 350-362).

[5] Because Ap. Const. professes to be given by the Apostles through St. Clement of Rome.

Unfortunately it is about this point that opinions most differ. Four other documents here enter into consideration: The so-called Epitome of Ap. Const. VIII, the Canons of Hippolytus, Egyptian Church Order, and Testamentum Domini.

The *Epitome* ("Constitutions through Hippolytus") exists in Greek.[1] In five books it contains much of the matter of Ap. Const. VIII, with omissions; notably it has no liturgy. It is an excerpt from a larger work.[2] Funk takes it to be an epitome of Ap. Const. VIII.[3] The *Canons of Hippolytus* exist in Arabic and Æthiopic versions.[4] They contain considerable liturgical matter (p. 59). The *Egyptian Church Order* consists of three versions of one document. These are a Coptic Church Order,[5] an Ethiopic Church Order,[6] and Latin fragments, discovered at Verona by E. Hauler in 1900[7] (= Veron.). *Testamentum Domini* is the name of a Syriac apocryphal work translated

[1] First ed. (incomplete) by J. A. Fabricius among the works of Hippolytus (1716), complete by Lagarde: *Rel. iuris eccl. ant.* (1856): in Funk: *Didasc.* II, 72-96.

[2] The proof of this will be found in Maclean: *Anc. Ch. Orders*, pp. 150-151.

[3] *Didasc.* II, pp. xiii-xvi.

[4] Ed. in Arab. and Latin by de Haneberg (1870); by Achellis: *Die Canones Hippolyti*, Leipz. 1891 (*Texte u. Unters.* vi, 4). The Æthiopic version has not been published.

[5] Forming Bk. II of the so-called Egyptian Heptateuch, ed. in the Bohairic dialect by Tattam: *The Apost. Const. . . . in Coptic* (1848), from a Sa'idic version by Lagarde: *Aegyptiaca* (1883) and Bouriant: *Recueil de travaux*, v (1884-1885). Book I of the Egypt. Hept. is a version of the *Apostolic Church Order*, which is merely an interpolated edition of the *Didache*. Books III-VI are either a later edition of Book II (so R. M. Woolley: *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 5-8), or a reproduction of Ap. Const. VIII with modifications (so Funk: *Didasc.* II, p. xxiii, and Maclean: *op. cit.* p. 8). Book VII is a version of the Apost. Canons.

[6] Ed. in part by Job Ludolf: *Ad suam hist. aeth. comm.* (1691), complete in Aeth. and English by Horner: *Statutes of the Apostles* (1904).

[7] *Didasc. ap. fragm. Veronensia latina* (1900). It forms the third of the fragments.

from the Greek in the VIIth century and first published by Lord Ignatius Ephrem II Rahmani, Uniate Syrian Patriarch of Antioch.[1]

The dates and mutual relation of these documents are much discussed. Achellis thinks that the Canons of Hippolytus are an authentic work by him, composed at Rome about 220 (though interpolated later), that all the others are derived from this.[2] Duchesne agrees as to the date of Can. Hipp.[3] Funk believes Ap. Const. VIII (composed soon after 400) to be the original source. He takes the epitome to be derived and epitomized from this,[4] the Egyptian Church Order from Epitome,[5] the Canons of Hippolytus (VIth cent.) from Eg. Ch. Order.[6] His reasons for this scheme are such internal arguments as incomplete references, unintelligible allusions in what he considers the later works, understood only by reference to Ap. Const. VIII. Hence the others are curtailed versions of this. He also finds signs of a later theology in the others. Their archaic features must be deliberate antiquarianism on the part of their compilers.[7]

A later theory is that of Dr. A. J. Maclean.[8] He points out that the idea of a chain of derived documents, each more archaic than its predecessor, is unlikely. He would rather reverse the order of derivation, putting Ap. Const. VIII last, as being the most evolved. Its compiler has filled up the older

[1] *Testamentum Dni nostri* (Mainz, 1899) with a Latin version and notes. English by Cooper and Maclean: *The Testament of Our Lord* (Edinb. 1902).

[2] *Die Canones Hippolyti* (*op. cit.*), chap. vii, pp. 212-268.

[3] *Bulletin critique*, Feb. 1891, pp. 41-46.

[4] For his argument see his *Didasc.* II, p. xiv.

[5] *Ib.* pp. xxi-xxii.

[6] *Ib.* xxv-xxviii.

[7] Funk discussed his theory at length in *Die apost. Konst.* (*op. cit.*) and in *Das Testament uns. Herrn u. die Verwandten Schriften* (Mainz, 1901).

[8] Bishop of Moray in the Scotch Episcopal Church: *The Ancient Church Orders* (Cambridge, 1910).

Church Order with long prayers compiled by himself. The Canons of Hippolytus especially have marked archaic features, such as a possible revival of persecution (43-47),[1] a very simple cycle of feasts (Easter and Pentecost only, 197-198, 255-257),[2] certain features like those seen in Tertullian, and so on.[3] Its later features ("the equal Trinity," 2, 133, subdeacons, 49, 52, and the Filioque, xix, 131)[4] may well be later interpolations. The Egyptian Church Order too shows signs of an earlier date than Ap. Const. VIII. It has a Canon on Confessors, showing their claim to be equal to priests [5] (as they did about the time of the Decian persecution).[6] Maclean also thinks that the proofs of dependence on Ap. Const. VIII quoted by Funk can be explained otherwise.[7] He thinks that the parent of all these orders is not one of those now extant, but a lost original, though there may be further relationship between them.[8] His idea of the dates and places of these Church Orders is as follows. The Canons of Hippolytus are the oldest and contain most of the lost original. They were composed in the first half of the IVth cent. in Egypt; though the present text contains later additions. The Egyptian Church Order is also Egyptian, of about the same time. The Testament of our Lord is of the middle IVth century, perhaps from Asia Minor. The Epitome is older than our present Ap. Const. VIII, perhaps a shortened form of an earlier redaction of that work. Ap. Const. VIII is Syrian at the end of the IVth century. The relative position of these Church Orders is of considerable importance in judging of the liturgies they re-

[1] Ed. Achellis, pp. 67-68. [2] Ed. cit. pp. 116, 136.
[3] *Op. cit.* 156-157. [4] Ed. Achellis, pp. 38, 133, 71, 74, 97.
[5] Horner: *op. cit.* p. 309.
[6] Cyprian, Ep. xxxix, 5; ed. Hartel, ii, 584-585; see Woolley: *Lit. of Prim. Church*, 11-12.
[7] *Anc. Ch. Orders*, 152-154; 161-163. [8] *Ib.* 142-149.

present. It may be said at once that Ap. Const. VIII contains a much more developed service than any of the others. Where the others merely imply a prayer, or give it in a simple form, Ap. Const. VIII supplies a long text. If Funk's view be accepted nothing can be deduced from this. But if Ap. Const. is the latest, then its longer forms may probably be interpolations of a late Syrian compiler, formed perhaps on IVth century Syrian models.

The Canons of Hippolytus and the Coptic Church Order contain only fragmentary allusions to the liturgy. Of the same family (Egyptian) are the Ethiopic Church Order and Hauler's Verona Fragments. From these we have more material. There is reason to suppose that this goes back to the Greek and was also once in the Coptic. The agreement of *Test. Dni*, Egyptian Church Order and Ap. Const. VIII in outline confirms the idea of a general use throughout the main body of Christendom during the first three centuries. The scheme common to all is this: first the *Liturgy of the Catechumens;* prayers and psalms, lessons and homilies, dismissal of the Catechumens. The *Liturgy of the Faithful* consists of their prayers, the kiss of peace and offertory, greeting and Sursum corda, Eucharistic prayer, reference to the last Supper and words of Institution, anamnesis and invocation of the Holy Ghost, Communion, dismissal. That this outline corresponds to that of Justin Martyr, Ap. Const. II. and Africa may be seen by comparing pp. 25, 35-36, and 46-47. The Coptic Order and Canons of Hippolytus have no anaphora. They give only the introductory dialogue and then add: "And let him pray also thus and say the things which come after these, according to the holy oblation".[1] The Ethiopic and Verona texts are much more complete, containing the texts of the

[1] Both Coptic and Can. Hipp. in Achellis: *op. cit.* 51.

anaphora. This was probably once in the Coptic text,[1] although it says that the celebrant may pray freely (p. 48). The Ethiopic and Verona texts have at the beginning of the anaphora the bishop's greeting: "The Lord be with you (all)," then "Lift up your hearts," "Let us give thanks to the Lord," with the usual answers. The Thanksgiving follows; it has no mention of the angels and no Sanctus.[2] The words of Institution come next, then an anamnesis and Epiklesis. Afterwards comes a blessing of oil and fruits of the earth.[3] Then prayers for Communicants, "Holy things to the holy," a blessing, Communion, thanksgiving, blessing and prayer for the people, dismissal.[4]

Test. Dñi has much the same order. But it adds the Liturgy of the Catechumens, a litany by the deacon and concluding prayer by the bishop. The kiss of peace comes just before the offertory. Before the "Sursum corda" the deacon proclaims an "admonition," warning unworthy people. Curiously the "Sancta sanctis" comes at the beginning of the anaphora, after the response "Meet and right". The Thanksgiving-prayer is obviously based on the same original as that of Eth. Ch. Order, but it has much additional matter. The angels are named, but there is no Sanctus. The words of Institution for the wine are not given. There is a vague Invocation addressed to the "eternal Trinity". After the prayer for communicants comes a short Intercession. Before Communion the assistant priest says: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord," etc. A prayer after Communion is based on the Our Father.[5]

[1] See Woolley: *op. cit.* p. 84. [2] See p. 67.

[3] Cheese and olives in Veron., which ends its account of the liturgy here (Hauler, p. 108).

[4] G. Horner: *Statutes of the Apostles*, Stat. 22 (pp. 138-143); Hauler: *op. cit.* pp. 106-108.

[5] Rahmani: *op. cit.* pp. 35-49, Cooper and Maclean: *op. cit.* pp. 69-77.

Turning now to Ap. Const. VIII we find this outline filled up at considerable length. The lessons are five, from the Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts, and Gospels. Pagans, catechumens, energumens, competentes[1] and penitents are prayed for and dismissed in order. The Prayers of the Faithful are a long diaconal litany with a concluding prayer by the bishop. The kiss of peace, washing of hands and offertory follow. The anaphora begins, not with "The Lord be with you," but with 2 Cor. xiii, 13. The Thanksgiving is very long; it leads to the Sanctus, said by the people. The commemoration of the last Supper, with the words of Institution follow. The text 1 Cor. xi. 26, in a slightly modified form, is supposed to be said by our Lord. Then come the anamnesis and a very explicit Epiklesis. Next a long Intercession for all kinds of people, following very much the ideas of the Prayers of the Faithful, a blessing, diaconal litany, the Elevation with the form: "Holy things for the holy," R. "One is holy, one Lord Jesus Christ in the glory of God the Father," etc.,[2] "Glory be to God on high" (Lc. ii, 14, and other verses). Then comes the Communion; meanwhile Ps. xxxiii is sung. What is left of the holy Sacrament is put by deacons in tabernacles. A thanksgiving for Communion, blessing by the bishop and dismissal by the deacon follow.[3]

§ 7. The Liturgy in Apostolic Constitutions VIII.

The question then occurs, what value this complete liturgy in Ap. Const. VIII may have, as an index of the rite of the first three centuries. As far as it agrees

[1] φωτιζόμενοι, people about to be baptized.

[2] This is one of the points urged by Funk for the priority of Ap. Const. VIII. In the Eth. Church Order the answer to "Sancta sanctis" is: "One holy Father, one holy Son, one is the Holy Spirit". This, he says, is later language (*Das Test. u. Herrn*, p. 58).

[3] The text is in Funk: *Didascalia*, i, 476-520; Brightman: *op. cit.* 3-27, in English in Warren: *Liturgy of Ante-Nicene Church*, 273-306.

with the other Church Orders, written in Egypt and perhaps from Asia Minor, as far as it has the same scheme as Justin Martyr at Rome, and in Africa, we may, no doubt, accept it (or them) as evidence of primitive use. Can we deduce anything from points special to Ap. Const. VIII, from the long prayers which, in most cases, it alone supplies?

Brightman and many others say that the prayers in Ap. Const. VIII show unmistakable signs of the compiler's hand.[1] So he concludes that "the Clementine Liturgy is constructed on the Antiochene scheme and includes the Antiochene *diakonika*, worked over and expanded by the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, who is also the pseudo-Ignatius, and filled in with prayers which, whatever sources they may include, are very largely the work of the same compiler".[2]

May be this is all one can say. There is, however, a theory, which has lately come again to the fore, which, if it be true, will throw considerably more light on the earliest liturgy. It is that the compiler of Ap. Const. VIII in his prayers quotes, or uses material from liturgical formulas of great antiquity. These prayers are also quoted by a number of early Fathers in East and West, from Clement of Rome and Justin down. The defenders of this theory argue from a number of striking parallels between such Fathers and the prayers in Ap. Const. VIII. They explain these by saying that the Fathers quote liturgical prayers well known to them, fragments of the liturgy of their time, which is thus seen to be, at any rate to a great extent, that of Ap. Const. VIII.

The author of this hypothesis is Dr. Ferdinand Probst.[3] He maintained that this "Clementine" Liturgy dates, practically as it stands, from the apos-

[1] *East Lit.* p. xxxiv-xliii. [2] *Ib.* xliii.
[3] Professor of Catholic theology at Breslau, † 1899.

tolic age, that it was used down to about the IVth century by all Christendom. To prove this he finds parallels and quotations from it in nearly every early Father of the Church.[1] It is admitted that many of his supposed parallels prove nothing. Lately, however, a modified form of Probst's theory has again come to the fore. The chief defender of this is Dr. Paul Drews.[2] His view is, not that the liturgy of Ap. Const. VIII is exactly the primitive universal rite, but that it is a later redaction, written about the year 350, in which we have one example of the primitive type. Drews arrives at this conclusion by comparing it with texts of early Fathers. He shows that the long prayer in Clement of Rome (1 Cor. lix-lxi), admittedly a liturgical prayer,[3] contains many clauses which recur in the Prayers of the Faithful and in the Anaphora of Ap. Const. VIII. Clement's list of saints of the Old Law (ix-xii) recurs, generally with the same epithets, in the Anaphora of the Liturgy (xii, 21-26). His reference to the Sanctus is parallel.[4] He ends with the quotation Gen. i, 26; so does the Liturgy.[5] In short, a considerable part of the Clementine liturgy occurs more or less exactly in Clement. Drews also finds many parallels in Justin Martyr. Justin too enumerates the details of creation and redemption,[6] incidents in the Old Testament,[7] the account of the last Supper,[8] and uses formulas which recur, often exactly, in the Liturgy. Drews even thinks he can find allusions to parts of the

[1] He defends his theory chiefly in two works: *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte* (Tübingen, 1870) and: *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts u. deren Reform* (Münster, 1893).

[2] See p. 156, n. 3.

[3] So Duchesne: *Orig. du Culte*, 49-51, and many others.

[4] Cfr. Clem. 1 Cor. xxxiv, 5-7, and Ap. Const. VIII, xii. 27.

[5] 1 Cor. xxxiii, 5; Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 16.

[6] I Apol. xiii, 2; lxv, 3; II Apol. v, 2; Dial. 41, 70, 117.

[7] I Apol. xxxii. 14; Dial. 43.

[8] I Ap. lxvi, 3 (cfr. Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 36-37),

Eucharistic service (such as the dismissals) in Justin, coming just where they come in Ap. Const. VIII. He finds parallel passages in Novatian *de Trin.* 1 and 8 corresponding to Ap. Const. VIII, xii, and lastly, thinks that in the present Roman Mass there still remain elements (notably the secrets, the angels in the preface, the Pax formula, etc.), corresponding to details of Ap. Const. VIII.[1] Since Drews wrote, his comparison with Novatian has been strengthened by Carl Weyman, who draws up in parallel columns two texts of Novatian[2] and two versions (Greek and Latin) of the Legendary Acts of the Cappadocian Martyrs, "Speusippos, Elasippos and Melesippos".[3] These again contain a list of benefits of creation, which agrees startlingly with the list in St. Clement (xx, 1-12; xxxiii, 2-6), and in Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 6-16.[4] F. Skutsch has found other parallels in a (Christian) IVth cent. writer, Julius Firmicius Maternus, in Theophilus: *ad Autolycum* and Minucius Felix.[5] How then are we to account for these parallels? It would seem clear that the texts come from one source. The passages in St. Clement and Ap. Const. VIII have long been compared. Most authorities agree that the resemblance cannot be accidental.[6] It might seem

[1] For all this see Drews: *Untersuchungen über die sogen. Clementinische Liturgie* (Tübingen, 1906),

[2] The enumeration of creation, etc., in *De Trin.* I (P.L. iii, 886 B -887 B), and in Ps-Cyprian: *de Spect.* ix (P.L. iv, 786 A-B). Weyman has already shown *de Spect.* to be by Novatian (*Hist. Jahrb. der Görres Ges.* xiii, 737 and xiv, 330).

[3] Their legend is published in H. Grégoire: *Saints jumeaux et dieux cavaliers* (Paris, 1905).

[4] So Weyman: *Analecta VI* (*Liturgisches aus Novatian*) in the *Hist. Jahrbuch der Görres-ges.* xxix (1908), 575-582.

[5] *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii (1910), pp. 291-305. The list of benefits in Ap. Const. VIII, xii, recurs also in VII, xxxiv-xxxv, which gives us yet another witness.

[6] So Lightfoot: *The Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1890) I, vol. ii, p. 71; Funk: *Patres Apostolici* (Tübingen, 1901), i, 126, 142.

more natural to suppose that the later document (Ap. Const.) quotes the earlier one (Clement). Yet these passages occur very naturally in the liturgy of Ap. Const. VIII; it would be strange if they were merely a mosaic of quotations from other sources. Nor would this account for the parallel passages in other Fathers. What then is the common source from which all these passages are taken? Drews says it is the primitive liturgy. Even before it was written down, it may be supposed that many formulas, the list of benefits for which we thank God, lists of petitions and so on, occurring at every celebration, would become stereotyped and familiar to the celebrant and people. The Fathers, according to this view, quote these formulas. When we find the same texts arranged in a complete natural order in the "Clementine" liturgy, Drews concludes that we have here the primitive liturgy itself, or rather (since it was to a great extent fluid) one form of it.[1]

This theory is approved by a number of other competent scholars. Baumstark[2] describes it as "undoubtedly correct".[3] C. Weyman considers that, as far as Novatian is concerned, Drews has "finally established the dependence of the Latin author on a liturgy of the 'Clementine' type, which was already known to him as a written document".[4] Abbot Cabrol sees much certain truth in this view and thinks it, as a whole, "fairly probable, but not absolutely certain".[5] Others are not persuaded. They point out, as Brightman has shown, that Ap. Const. is a IVth century Syrian document; that the text of

[1] Drews' theory, with the parallel passages drawn up in columns, will be found exposed at length in his: *Untersuchungen über die sogen. Clement. Lit.* (*op. cit.*).

[2] See p. 148, n. 4. [3] *Theologische Revue*, 28 Oct., 1912.

[4] *Hist. Jahrb. der Görres-Ges.*, 1908, p. 575.

[5] *Origines Liturgiques*, p. 329.

its prayers shows clear marks of the compiler's style; that, as far as it shows anything more than his inventions, it is IVth century Antiochene practice;[1] that such a document is an extremely doubtful witness for an alleged universal primitive rite. The opponents of Drews and Propst maintain rather that by the IVth century Syria had evolved many special characteristics which are inherited by its dependent rites. Ap. Const. VIII belongs to this class; without independent authority it is impossible to affirm any of its characteristic points as also belonging to other centres, such as Rome.

In conclusion we may perhaps say this: the parallels between Ap. Const. VIII and early Fathers noted by Drews are too close to be accidental. Nor does it seem likely that in these cases the compiler quotes these Fathers. We should then admit the primitive liturgy as the common source and say that Ap. Const. VIII does contain a considerable amount of early liturgical matter. It is another thing to say that it *is* the primitive liturgy. The compiler may have imbedded this matter in the order of the Antiochene rite of his time, or into his own ideal arrangement. One would be wary of affirming that any one detail in Ap. Const. VIII is universal or primitive unless it be confirmed by independent witness elsewhere.

§ 8. Some Special Points.

There is however another point to consider. If we suppose that the liturgy of the three first centuries was uniform in its main arrangement, we have less need of witnesses from each centre for this arrangement. On this supposition it would be enough to verify the order in one or two places. Then, in as

[1] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, pp. xxiv-xxxiii.

far as the general arrangement may be supposed to cover the point, we may affirm it of other places too. This consideration suggests an indirect way in which we might, at least conjecturally, supply for the want of direct evidence about Rome.

At least the general scheme common to all the Church Orders (p. 59) may be taken as practically universal during the first three centuries. Certain special points now demand consideration. The *kiss of peace* occurs in all the Church Orders at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Faithful, just before the Offertory.[1] So it does in Justin Martyr (p. 18). Indeed, as far as Rome is concerned, we have good evidence that it was moved to its present place (just before Communion) about the IVth or Vth century (p. 371). We may then, no doubt, fix its original place at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Faithful, a sign of peace and fellowship among them before they join in the holy sacrifice.

Abbot Cabrol thinks that the chant of the *Sanctus* is not primitive, at any rate in its present place.[2] It is true that the Egyptian Church Orders and *Test. Dñi* do not contain it. On the other hand Clement of Rome already refers to it and it occurs in every Liturgy, at the end of what we call the "Preface," except in the Abyssinian "Anaphora of our Lord"[3] which is derived from *Test. Dni.* It is also found in Sarapion,[4] St. John Chrysostom[5] and St. Cyril of Jerusalem,[6] and the Arabic text of *Test. Dni* supplies

[1] In *Eth. Ch. O.* (ed. Horner, p. 139) and *Verona Fragment* (ed. Hauler, p. 106) the kiss seems to be identified with that given to the newly ordained bishop.

[2] *Les Origines liturgiques*, p. 329; *Le Livre de la Prière antique*, p. 111.

[3] Printed in Cooper and Maclean: *The Test. of our Lord*, App. I, pp. 245-248.

[4] Funk: *Didascalia*, II, 174.

[5] Brightman: *op. cit.* 474.

[6] *Ib.* 465.

it.[1] It would then seem that its omission in Eg. Church Order and *Test. Dni* is, at most, an exception to the general rule.

Is the *Lord's Prayer* in the Liturgy primitive? None of the Church Orders, not even Ap. Const. VIII give it. But *Test. Dni* has a prayer to be said by each communicant after his Communion, which is an arrangement of its first four clauses.[2] Brightman thinks it is implied in the Egyptian Church Order and Sarapion.[3] The Didache orders it to be said three times a day (VIII, 3). Chrysostom seems to imply it, so that Brightman includes it in the Liturgy of Antioch at his time,[4] and St. Cyril and St. Jerome mention it as occurring in the Liturgy.[5]. All later liturgies contain it before Communion, except (as before) the Abyssinian "Anaphora of our Lord".[6]

A much disputed question is that of the *Intercession.* By this we mean a general prayer for the Church and for all men, including the faithful departed, and a memory of the Saints in some form.[7] In many cases there are two Intercessions, one at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Faithful, generally (at least since the IVth century) in the form of a litany by the deacon with answers by the people[8] and a concluding prayer

[1] Ed. Rahmani, p. 39.
[2] Ed. Cooper and Maclean, p. 76.
[3] *Journ. Theol. Studies*, I, 97.
[4] *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 474; see the text (In Gen. xxvii, 8) quoted *ib.* p. 480, n. 28.
[5] Brightman: pp. 466 and 469, n. 14. There is an essay by F. H. Chase: *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Texts and Studies, I, 3), Cambridge, 1891.
[6] Which does not contain the Communion at all.
[7] Such, at least, is the form of a perfect Intercession.
[8] Mr. E. Bishop says that this litany form began at Antioch in the IVth cent. and spread thence. He quotes a number of authorities (Narsai, Cyril of Jer., Per. Silviæ, the oldest known text of the St. James liturgy, Barsalibi), who while describing the liturgy in detail say nothing about a litany (Appendix to Dom R. H. Connolly's *Homilies of Narsai*, iv, pp. 117-121).

by the celebrant; then another by the celebrant himself in the course of the Anaphora (sometimes again echoed by a diaconal litany).

For the first Intercession (which we now call the "Prayers of the Faithful," see pp. 293-296) we have the witness of Justin Martyr, 1 Apol. lxv, 1; lxvii, 5 (above, pp. 18, 20); it occurs in Ap. Const. VIII, x, and in *Test. Dni*, i, 35[1] (in both cases a litany) in all extant Eastern liturgies, and there is good evidence that it existed in the Gallican and originally in the Roman rite (see p. 294).

The second Intercession, in the Anaphora, occurs in Sarapion, xiii,[2] in *Test. Dni*, i, 23 (quite short),[3] at great length in Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 40-50 (followed by a diaconal litany, xiii, 3-9), in Cyril of Jerusalem[4] and Chrysostom.[5] In all of these it follows the Epiklesis. In the extant liturgies of the Antiochene family and the East Syrian rite[6] it has the same place; in the Alexandrine class it comes before the Consecration. In the present Roman rite we have the elements of an Intercession throughout the Canon, part before and part after the Consecration. It is a question whether the Gallican liturgy had a second Intercession at all; its diptychs were read at the Offertory, in connection with the first Intercession.[7]

It seems, then, that the primitive liturgy had two Intercessions, one in each of what were originally separate services. The old service of prayer (*Liturgy of the Catechumens*, pp. 5, 7) ended with prayers for all men (p. 3). These, attracted to the beginning of the Liturgy of the Faithful, became the "Prayers of the Faithful".[8] Then the Eucharistic prayer de-

[1] Ed. Cooper and Maclean, pp. 100-101.
[2] Funk: *Didascalia*, II, 176.
[3] Cooper and Maclean, p. 75.
[4] Brightman, p. 466.
[5] *Ib.* 474.
[6] So also in Narsai, ed. Connolly, pp. 18-19.
[7] See p. 103.
[8] Woolley: *Lit. of the Prim. Church*, p. 124.

veloped its own Intercession, following naturally the Epiklesis. The Epiklesis prays first for the communicants; then the celebrant goes on to remember also those who are not present at this Communion, other Christians, living and dead (so also the Saints) and finally all men. The later Egyptian rites remove this second Intercession to bring it nearer to the first; the Gallican rite, if it ever had a second one, eventually identified it with the first. The place of the diptychs at Rome is a much disputed question. Some think that they too were once at the Offertory (pp. 168, 170). In any case the existence of an "Intercession" in the Roman Canon can hardly be denied. Its order is the subject of much discussion (E. gr. p. 157, etc.).

§ 8. Influence of Jewish ritual.

Another point which has been much discussed is the connection between the early Christian liturgy and Jewish rites. That the first part of the liturgy, that of the catechumens, with its readings from the Bible, sermons and prayers is a Christianized form of the old Synagogue service may be taken as certain.[1] It seems however that psalms were not sung generally in Synagogues, so that the Christians must have taken this detail from the service of the Temple.[2]

But various attempts have been made to establish a much greater dependence on Jewish rites than this. Gustav Bickell[3] thought that the catechumens' liturgy and the Prayers of the Faithful (that is the liturgy up to the offertory) correspond to the morning prayer

[1] So Duchesne: *Origines*, 46-47.

[2] Warren: *Lit. of Ante-Nicene Church*, p. 205. Warren thinks the whole service comes rather from the Temple than the Synagogue (*ib.* 205-207).

[3] *Messe und Pascha* (Mainz, 1872, pp. 88-104). He was then extraord. Professor of Oriental Philology at Münster; see p. 143, n. 2.

said in the Synagogue on the Sabbath. This service contained psalms, so there is no need to look to the temple for them. It consisted of these elements: 1. A blessing, 2. Lesson from the Law (פרשה), 3. Lesson from the Prophets (חפטרה), 4. Psalms, 5. Sermon (מדרש), 6. Eighteen blessings called שמנה עשרה (= "eighteen,"), 7. Prayer for all kinds of people, said by one man, to which all answer Amen, 8. Blessing by a priest, 9. Prayer for peace. It is not difficult to see the likeness of this service to the earliest known forms of the Christian liturgy. There we have in the same order: 2 and 3. lessons, 4. Gradual psalms, 5. sermon, 6 and 7. deacon's litanies and Prayers of the Faithful, 8. bishop's prayer and blessing, 9. Kiss of Peace.[1] Bickell again[2] and with him Probst[3] connect the Liturgy of the Faithful with the Paschal supper as it was kept by our Lord the evening before he died. They conceive the connection as this: The actual supper (Paschal lamb, etc.) ended with the mixing and drinking of the third cup of wine, over which a prayer (Grace after the meal) was said. Then followed the institution of the Holy Eucharist ("after he had supped," Lk. xxii, 20; 1 Cor. xi, 25). The fourth cup was mixed, the hands were washed and the second part of the Hallel psalms (cxiii, 9-cxvii)[4] was sung. Then followed the great Hallel

[1] The two services in parallel columns in Cabrol and Leclercq: *Monum. Eccl. liturg.* I, i, pp. xix-xxiii. See also Cabrol: *Orig. liturg.* 330-333. Baumstark compares the liturgy in Justin with the Sabbath service of the Synagogue. His view is that there was a very old form of prayer, witnessed by Neh. ix, 5-38, Ps. civ, cv, cxxxiv, cxxxv, Esra iv, Apoc. Baruch, Wisdom, Macc. iii. From this descend both the Synagogue service and the original Christian anaphora. See his *Messe im Morgenland*, 24-26, and *Theologie u. Glaube*, ii, 358-370.

[2] *Messe und Pascha*, (pp. 105-122).

[3] *Lit. des iv Jahrhunderts u. deren Reform* (Münster, 1893), 6-16.

[4] All texts are quoted as in the Vulgate.

(Ps. cxxxv). Both Ps. cxvii and Ps. cxxxv have a response: "for his mercy endures for ever" to each verse. Ps. cxxxv, 2-3 praises God as the highest of all, 4-9 celebrate creation, 10-22 mention the benefits he showed to his people, 23-24 apparently another kind of salvation from trouble, v. 25 is: "he gives food to all flesh". Here our Lord instituted the Eucharist. The preceding verses, modified in a Christian sense, became the first part of the Eucharistic prayer, thanking God for creation, his mercies in the Old Law and our redemption through Christ (= v. 23-24). The doxology at the end of the Eucharistic prayer corresponds to v. 26. The washing of hands before the offertory in most liturgies (not mentioned in Apost. Const.) corresponds in place to that of the Paschal supper. There are correspondences of formulas, thus:

Paschal Supper	Liturgy
Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus (cxvii, 1).	Sursum Corda.
Dicat nunc Israel quoniam bonus, etc. (cxvii, 2-4).	Habemus ad Dominum.
Confitemini Domino (cxvii, 1).	Gratias agamus . . .
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini (cxvii, 26).	Sanctus . . . Benedictus.

The formula: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory" occurs in the morning service for Sabbaths.[1]

The chief argument against this theory is that the comparison is made with later Jewish forms. It is quite likely that much of the Passover ritual that we know from these later documents existed already in the time of our Lord; but it must be remembered that there is an element of uncertainty. Secondly

[1] Singer and N. M. Adler: *Authorized daily Prayer Book of the united Hebrew Congregations*, London, 1900, p. 131.

Dom Cabrol at least considers that some of the Christian forms compared are later too. He considers the Sanctus especially to be a later addition to the liturgy.[1]

Continuing the idea of the Last Supper as the basis of the liturgy, Probst and others have found in the last discourse made by our Lord at the end of the supper (Jo. xiii, 31-xvii, 26) a further element of the service. The prayer in his name (xvi, 24) became the Intercession; the comparison of the vine and its branches (xv, 1-6), the promise that the disciples should see him (xiv, 19), that he would come to them, stay with them, show himself to them (xiv, 18-23) are all Eucharistic and liturgical allusions that have found their echo in the rite.[2] Especially do we notice the insistence on the Holy Ghost and his work (xiv, 16-17, 26; xv, 26; xvi, 7-11, 13-15) as a basis of the Epiklesis.[3] This idea has been developed ingeniously by Dr. S. Salaville. The three promises: our Lord's return, the coming of the Holy Ghost, prayers heard when made in Christ's name are fulfilled in the Eucharist. A comparison of the parable of the vine in xiv, 6-xv, 5 with the promise of the Eucharist in Jo. vi, again shows that the vine is to be understood especially of this Sacrament.

"I am the life" (xiv, 6, 19).	"I am the bread of life" (vi, 35 etc.).
"Remain in me and I in you" (xv, 4).	"Who eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him" (vi, 56).
"As a branch cannot bear fruit by itself, unless it remain in the vine, so neither can you unless you remain in me" (xv, 4).	"Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you will not have life in you" (vi, 53).[4]

[1] *Origines liturg.* 329.
[2] Probst: *Lit. des iv Jhrhdts*, 9-16. [3] *Ib.* 14-15.
[4] Salaville: *Les Fondements scripturaires de l'Epiclèse* (Echos d'Orient, 1909, pp. 8-9).

And Salaville sees in the texts about the Holy Ghost in the last discourse a foundation in Scripture for the Epiklesis.

Another theory connects the earliest liturgy, not with the Passover ceremony but with the Sabbath meal held every Friday evening.[1] This meal is a religious service; its ritual is given in the Treatise *Blessings* (ברכות) of the Talmud[2] and may be seen in any modern Jewish prayerbook.[3] At the beginning of the meal bread is blessed with the form: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth". Then wine with the form: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast created the fruit of the vine". The head of the family (having said these forms) tastes of each and gives them to the others. These forms are the "blessings" (ברכות), to say them is to "bless" (ברך); does not the statement that our Lord "blessed" (εὐλογήσας, Mt. xxvi, 26; Mk. xiv, 22) mean that he used similar forms?[4] At the end of the meal a long grace is said, thanking God for food and for his other benefits, praying for benefactors etc. The guests answer Amen. It is especially the Eucharist in the Didache which resembles this Jewish service (pp. 8-9). The wine and bread are blessed before the meal with similar forms; after the meal follows a thanksgiving-prayer just as in the Sabbath-meal.[5]

In conclusion we may take it for certain that there

[1] This is defended by Goltz: *Tischgebete u. Abendmahlsgebete* (Texte u. Untersuchungen, xxix, 26, Leipzig, 1905), Drews: *Eucharistie* in the *Realenz. für Prot. Theol.* v, 560-572, Rauschen: *Euchar. u. Busssakr.* 78-80.

[2] *Berakhoth* is the first treatise of the first book (*Zeratim*) of the Mishna: it has 9 chapters. Chap. 6 and 7 contain the blessings for meals.

[3] E. gr. the *Authorised Daily Prayerbook* quoted above, pp. 278-285.

[4] Buchwald: *Die Epiklese*, 26.

[5] See above p. 10, n. 3.

are Jewish influences in the first Christian liturgy. We know that that is so with regard to many early Christian prayers and ceremonies.[1] But the question which Jewish services had most influence and points of dependence in detail are still uncertain. It is dangerous to draw up parallel forms with any one Jewish set of prayers and to deduce that that particular set is the prototype of the Christian liturgy, for several reasons, one of the most obvious of which is that the same forms recur continually in the services of the Jews.

[6] Famous cases are the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* in the New Testament. Their verses can be paralleled closely from the *Shemone-Esre*; see Cabrol and Leclercq: *Mon. Eccl. Liturg.* xvii. See in general Warren: *Lit. of the Ante-Nicene Church*, chap. iv. pp. 200-247.

CHAPTER II.

THE PARENT RITES AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

§ 1. The development of the Parent Rites.

BEFORE we come finally to the Roman Mass it will be well to establish its place among Christian liturgies by explaining in outline the development of all the old rites and their groups.

We have so far deduced from the Fathers of the first three centuries that there was in their time a liturgy, still fluid and liable to change in its details, made up of prayers chiefly extempore, but uniform in outline and in many of its formulas, throughout Christendom. The fourth century brings us to a great change. From this time we may find full information about liturgical matters in almost every detail. The Fathers such as St. Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), St. Athanasius († 373), St. Basil († 379), St. John Chrysostom († 407) give us elaborate descriptions of the rites they celebrated. It is unfortunate for our purpose that we know less about the earliest history of the Roman rite than about any other. Still, in general we have an abundance of liturgical information from the fourth century. As in the case of general Church History, the freedom of the Church under Constantine and, roughly, the first general council in 325 mark the great turning point for liturgical study. We have even more than the copious allusions of the Fathers. From about the

fourth century we have complete liturgical texts, the first Euchologia and Sacramentaries drawn up for use in Church. And in them and in the Fathers of this time we notice that the old fluid uniform rite has crystallized into different liturgies in different places. These different liturgies still all bear the marks of their common descent; in all we see still the same outline in general; there are very curious and complicated signs of mutual influence between them, so much so that almost every possible theory of dependence of each from another has its defenders. But from this time we have specifically different rites and we must consider these rites separately.

The way in which this came about must have been something like this. In various centres the old vaguer rite crystallized into different forms. Insistence on one part at one place, on another at another, different parts shortened or enlarged, slight re-arrangements of the order, caused for some practical reason, bring about different types of liturgy. The influence of these centres causes their customs to be followed in the country round and in the dependent dioceses. We see that three of the parent-types are those of the three old patriarchal cities, Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. It was natural that the bishops of these patriarchates should imitate their chief in his liturgical practices. So from these centres new types spread. But they are still more or less fluid types of liturgy. Even within the area of each there was room for some difference. The prayers were still to a great extent said extempore. Our first period then introduces us to four general types of liturgy, the parents of all others in Christendom. The next stage is absolute uniformity. The prayers are written down and read from a book. This naturally puts an end to any variety within the domain of each rite. But mean-

while, before final uniformity is reached, each of these parent types goes through the same development as did the original parent of all. Again, within the same type, there are differences. Outlying Churches evolve peculiarities of their own; sometimes changes, shortening of parts that seem too long, the addition of some new ceremony or the expansion of an old one, are made deliberately. So we have the derived liturgies, each the daughter of one of the four great parents, obviously belonging to its family, and yet no longer to be considered the same rite. These too are then written down; so we have the many liturgies now used, which however are not disconnected novelties, but may all be classified as either one of the original four, or derived from one of them.[1]

Mgr. Duchesne counts four parent-rites for all Christendom, two in the East, Antioch and Alexandria, and two in the West, Rome and Gaul.[2] Not everyone is satisfied with this division. Duchesne himself suggests that they may be reduced to two.[3] Drews would apparently bring all back to Antioch.[4] Mr. Edmund Bishop suggests a different basis of classification altogether, leading to two main types.[5] Dr. Baumstark begins with four, not two, parent rites

[1] The situation may be understood by the parallel case of language. Here too we see at first variety in the same class. The old Italic dialects for instance (Umbrian, Oscan, Latin etc.) belong to the same family. Then the dialect of some chief centre for some reason becomes the classical language of the whole country and books written in it spread uniformity. So the dialect of Rome—classical Latin. But meanwhile, while the language is still to some extent fluid, derived languages arise out of it (Italian, Spanish, French etc.). These then go through the same process, have their dialect forms and finally obtain uniformity by conforming to the dialect of the capital, chiefly through the influence of books. To make our parallel still more exact we shall remember that behind the whole process lurks the original Aryan language, as does the liturgy of the first three centuries behind all the development we have to trace in this chapter.

[2] *Origines du Culte*, 54. [3] *Ib.*

[4] In his *Unters. über die sogen. clem. Lit.*, 126.

[5] In Dom R. Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 145.

in the East—those of Western Syria, East Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt.[1] On the other hand this may be said for the classification under four heads: It is true that there have been cross influences between them; it is also true that much may be said as to their mutual relations (for instance, the Gallican rite may be Antiochene in its origin). But in any case we have here four different rites, all extant, and from these four all others are derived. At most one might reduce the parent rites to three and count the Gallican liturgy as derived (from Antioch). But its Antiochene origin is doubtful. In any case it represents a large historically original Western class.

We have then this conception of the original fluid rite having evolved into these four, as our starting-point. In the case of three of them the reason of their importance is obvious. Rome, Alexandria, Antioch were the patriarchal cities in the fourth century. Naturally their influence was felt around them in their patriarchates. Syria followed Antioch, Egypt Alexandria, only Rome at first seems not to have been followed. The origin of the Gallican rite is the mystery. Northern Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, were part of the Roman patriarchate. Why did they not use their Patriarch's rite, like the rest of Christendom? At any rate we know they did not. Till about the sixth century these countries had their own liturgical use apparently independent of the Roman rite. Even now remnants of this so-called Gallican rite are found in the heart of the Roman patriarchate (at Milan and Toledo) as exceptions to the general rule that rite follows patriarchate.

§ 2. The Antiochene Rite.

This is the best known of the four. Antioch has the oldest complete rite extant and is also the source

[1] *Die Messe im Morgenland*, Kempten and Munich, 1906.

of more derived rites than any other place. The first complete Antiochene liturgy extant is none other than that of the *Eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions* already described (pp. 55-61). Besides this we have allusions to early Antiochene use in the *Hymns of Severus of Antioch* († 538). The collection under his name is not all by him. It contains a number of old Antiochene liturgical hymns (E. gr. for the Communion) translated into Syriac in the VIIth cent.[1] Another witness of the early use of Antioch is the so-called *Liturgy of St. Athanasius* (in Syriac), written for a Syrian monastery in Egypt in the XVth cent.[2] It is monophysite, but Baumstark thinks it represents an echo of the old pure Antiochene rite before the influence of Jerusalem.[3] Ap. Const. VIII was written in Syria and shows the liturgy as used at Antioch. It is suggested that the compiler was the same person as the author of the six spurious letters of St. Ignatius, and an Apollinarist.[4] In any case he was a Syrian. He gives precedence to Antioch (VIII, x, 7 etc.); he mentions Christmas (VIII, xxxiii, 6), a feast kept at Antioch considerably earlier than in most Eastern Churches;[5] Holy Week and Lent together make up seven weeks (V, xiii, 3) as at Antioch, whereas in Palestine Lent lasted eight weeks[6] and in Egypt six weeks;[7] the chief source of his "Apostolic Canons" is the Synod of Antioch *in encæniis* (341) and his liturgy obviously follows the lines of that of Antioch as we see it in St. John Chrysostom.[8]

This liturgy then, apart from the question of whether

[1] Ed. by E. W. Brooks in the *Patr. Orient.*, vi, 3-179; vii, 595-802.
[2] Ed. by A. Baumstark in the *Oriens Christ.* ii (1902), 90-129.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] Funk: *Die apostolischen Konstitutionen*, pp. 366-368; Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896), pp. xxiv-xxix.
[5] Kellner: *Heortologie* (Freiburg, 1901), pp. 82-86.
[6] *Per. Silviæ*, xxvii, 1. [7] Kellner, *op. cit.* p. 62.
[8] Probst: *Liturgie des iv Jahrhdts*, 156-202.

it represents an old universal type, is in any case the starting-point of the group of Antiochene rites. But the Church of Antioch did not keep it; instead she borrowed one of the daughter-rites derived from it. We have said that within each patriarchate there was still variety. The neighbouring Churches used the rite of the patriarchal Church with modifications of their own. One of these rites, derived from the original type of Antioch, was that of Jerusalem,[1] the liturgy called after St. James, the "brother of the Lord" and first Bishop of Jerusalem. The *Liturgy of St. James* follows the main lines of that of the Apostolic Constitutions, but was plainly put together at Jerusalem. The first supplication of its prayers after the Epiklesis is "We offer to thee, O Lord, for thy holy places which thou hast glorified by the divine appearance of thy Christ and by the coming of thy holy Spirit, especially for the holy and glorious Sion, mother of all churches, and for thy holy Catholic and apostolic Church throughout the world."[2] Among the prayers for the catechumens is an allusion to the cross: "lift up the horn of the Christians by the power of the venerable and life-giving cross,"[3] referring apparently to the discovery of the true cross at Jerusalem in 326. This also gives us a date after which it must have been composed, at any rate in its present form. Other allusions show its composition to be still later. Among the diptychs for the living is an allusion to: "our all-holy, immaculate and highly praised Lady Mary, Mother of God and ever virgin" followed by two hymns to our Lady, evidently directed against the Nestorian heresy (431). But in establishing dates for the beginning of a liturgy we must

[1] Jerusalem belonged to Antioch till the Council of Chalcedon (451) made it an independent patriarchate.

[2] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 54. [3] *Ib.* p. 37.

remember that they fix only its present redaction and complete form; the rites had been growing gradually long before that. We have certain dates at the other end for its final compilation. The fact that the Syrian Jacobites use the Liturgy of St. James complete shows that it was compiled before the Monophysite Schism during the latter half of the Vth century. St. Jerome († 420) seems to know it. At Bethlehem he quotes as a liturgical form "who alone is sinless" which occurs in it.[1] The Catechetical Instructions of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, held about 348,[2] the Pilgrimage of Aetheria (Silvia),[3] a lady from Southern Gaul who, if we accept the conclusions arrived at by Karl Meister, spent three years in Jerusalem about the year 530[4] and describes the rites she saw there, show a liturgy that, as far as we see it, is that of St. James. We must then conceive the liturgy of St. James as existing in the IVth century, as being formed gradually before that and receiving some additions of detail since. Such is in general the only way the date of a liturgy can be fixed. The earliest known text of this one is a roll written at Damascus about the VIIth-VIIIth cent.,[5] the next oldest a MS. at Messina (Xth-XIth cent.).[6]

This liturgy then corresponds in its main outline to

[1] *Adv. Pelagium*, ii, 23 P.L xxiii, 561), cfr. Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 57, l. 30-32.

[2] P.G. xxxiii, cfr. Probst: *Liturgie des IV, Jhrdts*, 77-106.

[3] Edited by Geyer: *Itinera hierosolymitana*, in the Vienna *Corpus Script. eccl. latin.* xxxix, (pp. 35-101), 1898. Cfr. Cabrol: *Étude sur la Peregrinatio Silviæ*, Paris, 1895, for her name, date, rank as Abbess and place of origin see Karl Meister; *De itinerario Aetheriæ* in the *Rheinisches Museeum*, 1909, pp. 337-392 and Heræus: *Silviæ* vel *potius Aetheriæ peregrinatio* (Sammlung vulgärlateinischer Texte i, Heidelberg, 1908). I continue to call the book by the usual name: *Peregrinatio Silviæ.*

[4] The earlier critics assigned this pilgrimage to the close of the fourth century and to this date many still adhere.

[5] Described by Baumstark and Schermann in the *Or. Christ.* iii (1903), pp. 214-219.

[6] For this and other MSS. see Brightman: *op. cit.* pp. xlix-lii.

that of the Apostolic Constitutions; its order and general arrangement are clearly West Syrian. Especially in one important point it shows itself to belong to the Syrian group; the intercession for all people, with the memory of the Saints, comes after the consecration, which at once follows the Sanctus. But it has developed since the earlier one. The prayers are longer, the ceremonies more elaborate. As we have it, it contains a complicated rite for the preparation of the offerings (*προσκομιδή*), though this may be due to later Byzantine influence. The Nicene Creed is said immediately after the "Great Entrance" in which the offerings are brought to the altar (after the Prayers of the Faithful) and is followed by the kiss of peace. There is a definite Epiklesis after the words of institution; the Lord's Prayer follows the intercession.

It spread to Antioch, displaced the older liturgy of that city and, starting out from that centre, became the rite of the whole patriarchate, that is of all Western Syria. It was used even further, in Greece and by Greek monks at Rome. The liturgy of St. James then may be considered a second source (after that of the Apostolic Constitutions) and as the head of the development in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece. But again this is only true of the type; there were local varieties within its domain. It would be a mistake to consider all the derived rites of Antioch as coming from our Greek St. James as we have it. At any rate the rite as we know it was used at Antioch and the centre of the patriarchate before the Monophysite schism of the Vth century, since it descended to both Catholics and Monophysites. The oldest form in which we know it is in Greek;[1] but there was no principle of uniformity in language. It was used in Greek in the cities where

[1] Text in Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 31-68.

that language was spoken, translated into Syriac for use in the villages. In this Syriac form it became the rite of the Syrian Monophysites (Jacobites). The text differs, not considerably, from the Greek version. The Jacobites have added to it a great number of alternative Anaphoras all formed on the line of its own (Anaphora of St. James) and joined to its first part (Liturgy of the Catechumens and Prayers of the Faithful). There are sixty-four of these Anaphoras, used for various occasions. Some of them are composed by well-known leaders of the Jacobites, others are called after Apostles or early Saints.[1] The Melkites (Orthodox) of Syria used the liturgy of St. James in Greek or (more often) in Syriac till the XIIIth century, when they substituted the Byzantine rite for it. Among the Orthodox it is now only used (in Greek) at Zakynthos once a year on October 23 (St. James's feast) and on the Sunday after Christmas at Jerusalem. The Syriac version is used by all Jacobites, those of the Malabar Christians who have turned Jacobite and Syrian Uniates. There are also Armenian, Ethiopic and Georgian versions, now no longer used.[2] The Maronites now use a form of this rite with considerable modifications of a Romanizing tendency.[3] They have eight Anaphoras and one for the liturgy of the Presanctified.

§ 3. Liturgies derived from Antioch.

Edessa and Nisibis formed their own liturgical traditions, in many ways apart from those of Western Syria. These *East Syrian rites* appear to be suffi-

[1] The Jacobite liturgy with the Anaphora of St. James is printed (in English) in Brightman, *op. cit.* 69-110.

[2] For editions and versions see Brightman, xlviii-lxiii.

[3] *Missale chaldaicum iuxta ritum ecclesiæ nationis Maronitarum*, Rome, 1592, and often reprinted. For older Maronite use see Baumstark in the *Or. Christ.* iv, 190-194 and 405-409.

ciently related to those of the patriarchal city to be included in the great Antiochene family; but they are the furthest removed of that family.[1] We have some indications of the rite of Edessa in the fourth century from the writings of St. Ephrem (†373).[2] This East Syrian rite became that of the Nestorian Church in Persia, Kurdistan and its missions as far as India and China, whose centre was Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Tigris. We see it again in the Nestorian writers, Barsauma and Narsai (†502).[3] It is now represented by the Nestorian and Chaldee *Liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari*.[4] The liturgy begins with the preparation of the offerings; then comes an Enarxis (preparatory prayers) containing the Lord's Prayer. The Liturgy of the Catechumens begins with the Trisagion and has four lessons, the Law and Prophets, or Prophets and Acts, an Epistle and Gospel, divided by psalms, hymns and prayers. Then come a litany sung by the deacon, to each clause of which the people answer: "O our Lord, have mercy on us," a second litany with the answer: Amen, an inclination and blessing and the dismissal of the catechumens. The Liturgy of the Faithful begins with the bringing of the offerings from the Prothesis to the altar with prayers, then the Creed (a form of their own). The diptychs follow here, namely prayers for all kinds of people, living and dead, together with the memory of

[1] Some writers (E. gr. Baumstark: *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 48-52) count the East Syrian rite as a separate class. According to the usual classification of all Eastern rites under the general headings Antioch and Alexandria, the East Syrian liturgy is included in those of the Antiochene family. So Duchesne: *Origines du Culte*, 68-69.

[2] Probst: *Lit. des iv Jahrhdts*, pp. 308-318. The *Chronicle of Seert*, written perhaps in the XIIIth cent. (*Patr. Or.* iv, 295), says that St. Ephrem composed a liturgy.

[3] R. Connolly: *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Cambridge (Texts and Studies, viii, 1), 1909.

[4] Brightman, *op. cit.* 247-305.

the Saints. The kiss of peace ends the pro-anaphoral part of the liturgy. The Anaphora begins as usual with the dialogue "Lift up your minds" etc. and the prayer of thanksgiving (leading to the Sanctus) that we call the Preface. The most remarkable fact about this liturgy is that it did not contain the words of institution at all.[1] It is sometimes said that the celebrant was meant to repeat them by heart; they are now inserted in the edition of Urmi[2] and in the Uniate books, but obviously with no relation to the context.[3] A short intercession by the celebrant leads to the Epiklesis, the fraction, Lord's Prayer, elevation ("Holy things to the holy" and a doxology as at Antioch). Communion, blessing and dismissal follow in order.

Later the Nestorians added other Anaphoras to the first part of this liturgy instead of its own, to be used on special occasions. These other Anaphoras come from a different source. They are translations of Greek texts from the liturgical group of Asia Minor and Constantinople, fitted awkwardly into the order of the East-Syrian liturgy. The Anaphora of Diodore of Tarsus has disappeared. They still use those of *Theodore the Interpreter*[4] and *Nestorius* on certain occasions. This Anaphora of Nestorius is either an older form of the Byzantine liturgy, or a compilation from its two present forms (St. Basil and St. John Chrys.).[5]

The East-Syrian liturgy is used by the remnant of the Nestorian Church in Kurdistan and Persia, by a fraction of the schismatical Malabar Christians, by the

[1] But Narsai mentions them (ed. Connolly, p. 17).

[2] By the Anglican mission. [3] Brightman: *op. cit.* p. 285.

[4] Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428). There seems no reason to doubt that it was arranged by him.

[5] Baumstark has shown reason to suppose that this "Anaphora of Nestorius" is the one used by St. John Chrysostom at Constantinople; see: *Chrysostomika* (Rome, 1908), 771-857, and *Die Konst. Messlit. vor dem ix Jahrh.* in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* (no. 35, Bonn, 1909).

Uniate Chaldees (who have the three Anaphoras, calling the others "Second" and "Third") and in a very Romanized form by the Malabar Uniates.

Asia Minor also had its own variants of liturgy; though they were much nearer to those of Western Syria than the rites of Edessa, Nisibis and Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The canons of the Synod of Laodicea (in Phrygia) held in 363 show a liturgy of that place, not otherwise known. The Anaphora of Theodore used by the Nestorians is Cilician. But Cappadocia, grouped around its Metropolis *Cæsarea*, evolved a rite in Greek, distinctly Antiochene in type, that was destined to become of great importance. The letter of Firmilian of Cæsarea[1] (256-257) contains the first indications of this rite; St. Gregory Thaumaturgus († 270) and Cappadocian synods of the fourth century give further details.[2] But it is especially St. Basil († 379) who arranged the liturgy of his Church. Many of his letters refer to this[3] and it is attested further by a number of more or less contemporary writers.[4] These writers describe his work as shortening the rite he found. There is no reason to doubt that the famous *Liturgy of St. Basil* (the older of the two liturgies of Constantinople) represents the Saint's re-arrangement. Compared with the Liturgy of St. James (representing the rite of the Patriarchal city Antioch) it is found to follow its order, but to be considerably shorter. In other ways too it corresponds very well to the contemporary

[1] Addressed to St. Cyprian and published among his letters (ed. by Hartel in the Vienna *Corpus Script. eccl. Latin.* vol. iii, pp. 810-827).

[2] An outline of the liturgy from Cappadocian writers is given by Brightman, *op. cit.* Appendix N, pp. 521-526.

[3] E. gr. Ep. cvii (P.G. xxxii, 763).

[4] Gregory Naz. Or. xx (P.G. xxxv, 761), Gregory Nyss. (*In laudem frat. Basil*, P.G. xlvi, 808), Proklos of Const. († 446: *de trad. div. Missæ*, P.G. lx, 849).

accounts of what he did.[1] This rite then spread to Constantinople and became the origin of the great Byzantine Liturgy. Additions and amplifications have been made to it since. A second liturgy modelled on this bears the name of *St. John Chrysostom.* Chrysostom († 407) is also said to have reformed and shortened the rite he found at Constantinople.[2] He may have had a share in producing this second liturgy. But in general it is later in date than his time. Long ceremonies, the preparation of the offerings (προσκομιδή), the rites accompanying the Little and Great Entrance, the removal of the Kiss of Peace to after the Great Entrance and so on are later additions.[3]

The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom exactly follows that of St. Basil in order. It does not change the deacon's part nor the chants of the choir, but it substitutes a different (generally shorter) text for the prayers of the celebrant. This shortening is especially noticeable in the first part of the Anaphora, before the Sanctus (corresponding to our Preface). A third *Liturgy of the Presanctified,*[4] attributed wrongly to St. Gregory I († 604), completes the Eucharistic service of the Church of Constantinople. The earliest manuscript of these three liturgies is one of the VIIIth or IXth century now in the Vatican library.[5] This shows them in an earlier form than that in which they

[1] This question is discussed at some length in the American *Catholic Encyclopædia* (article: *Constantinople, rite of*). See also Baumstark, *op. cit.* pp. 55-57.

[2] Proklos. loc cit.

[3] See the article in the *Cath. Encyclopædia,* and Brightman, App. O and P, pp. 527-539. Various articles in *Chrysostomika* (*op. cit.*) discuss the development of this liturgy and its old Armenian, Arabic, and Slavonic versions.

[4] The Liturgy of the Presanctified (used in the Roman rite only on Good Friday) is much commoner in the East, being the usual service for the aliturgical days of Lent.

[5] Barberini MSS. iii, reprinted in Brightman, pp. 309-352.

are now used; especially the rite of preparing the offerings at the beginning is much less complicated.[1]

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is the one commonly used in the Byzantine rite; the older form (of St. Basil) is kept for a few days in the year only,[2] that of the Presanctified for week-days in Lent. The outline of either liturgy (Basil or Chrysostom) is this: The ministers vest, saying suitable prayers. Then comes the long preparatory rite of the προσκομιδή, the preparation of the bread and wine at the credence table (Prothesis). The bread is cut up and arranged on the paten according to elaborate rules, the bread and wine are incensed and many prayers are said.[3] The offerings are then left on the Prothesis and the celebrant and deacon go to the altar to begin the liturgy. The Liturgy of the catechumens begins with a litany (called συναπτή) chanted by the deacon outside the Ikonostasion.[4] To each clause the choir answers Kyrie eleison. Meanwhile the celebrant says a corresponding prayer at the altar in a low voice

[1] For the development of this see the *Échos d'Orient* iii, pp. 65-78. *La préparation des oblats dans le rite grec*, and Brightman, Appendix Q, pp. 539-549.

[2] The Sundays in Lent (except Palm Sunday) Maundy Thursday, Easter Eve, the Eves of Christmas and Epiphany and St. Basil's feast (Jan. 1).

[3] In comparing this with the Roman rite we have a typical example of the way in which one detail may evolve into a long ceremony in one place while it remains quite simple in another. At Rome the priest before he begins Mass puts an altar-bread on the paten and the server pours wine and water into the cruets. At High Mass the chalice and paten are put on the credence table. The Dominicans fill the chalice before Mass (a Gallican feature). That is all our Proskomide. On the other hand the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, which in Eastern rites remains a mere practical detail involving no ceremony at all, has evolved in the West into a great feature of religious life, entailing visits of adoration, expositions, benediction, processions.

[4] The great screen that in all Byzantine churches separates the sanctuary and hides the altar from the choir and nave. It has three doors, of which the central one is the Royal door and is covered with pictures.

and, the litany being finished, sings the last clause of it aloud[1] to which the choir answers Amen. All litanies in this rite are formed in this way. An anthem is then sung. A second litany (the short Synapte) follows in the same way; its anthem ends with the *Μονογενής*;[2] then comes a third litany and anthem. Here follows the Little Entrance, that is the procession to the place where the Gospel is sung. During it troparia[3] are sung, ending with the Trisagion.[4] There are now only two lessons; originally there was an Old Testament lesson too. A reader chants the Epistle, a Gradual is sung, the deacon sings the Gospel. Prayers are said for the catechumens and they are dismissed.[5] Here begins the Liturgy of the Faithful. First comes another litany (the Prayers of the Faithful) then follows the Great Entrance, in which the offerings are brought in solemn procession from the Prothesis to the altar while the Cherubic Hymn is sung.[6] A litany follows, then the Kiss of Peace and the Nicene Creed. The Anaphora begins with a blessing (2 Cor. xiii, 14), "Let us lift up the hearts," and so on. The prayer of thanksgiving (our preface) is said silently, with an ekphonesis to which the people

[1] This last part of a silent prayer sung aloud is called the *ἐκφώνησις*. The Roman rite has examples of this in the *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum* before the Preface, Lord's Prayer and Pax.

[2] A famous hymn to Christ generally attributed to Justinian (527-565), probably really composed by Severus of Antioch (512-536).

[3] Short verses in rhythmical prose.

[4] The verse: "Holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, have mercy on us" that we sing in Greek and Latin on Good Friday. It is sung three times, then: "Glory be to the Father" etc., and it is repeated again.

[5] This ancient rite is still kept, although now it is a mere form.

[6] The *χερουβικόν*, said to have been written by the Emperor Justin II (565-578), sung always to a very elaborate tune as the Great Entrance is made, is one of the features of the Byzantine liturgy. By a curious anticipation of the consecration it refers to the bread and wine as "king of all things" See *Chéroubicon* in the *Dict. d'archéologie chrét.*

answer: "Holy, holy, holy" etc. The words of institution (sung aloud) follow almost at once, then the Anamnesis and Epiklesis. Then comes the great Intercession, namely prayers for various classes of people with the diptychs of the living and the dead. This ends with a litany; then the Lord's Prayer, sung by the people. An elevation of the holy Eucharist with the words: "Holy things for the holy" and a doxology[1] as answer prepares for the Communion. The holy bread is broken and part of it mixed with the consecrated wine, into which a little warm water is poured; Communion is given in both kinds while the Communion Antiphon is sung. A few prayers and a blessing form the dismissal.[2] It has been mentioned that the older liturgy of St. Basil differs from the other only in the longer prayers of the celebrant.

This rite of Constantinople (adopted from Cæsarea in Cappadocia) because of the importance of the city in which it was used spread over all the Orthodox world. First it influenced the older liturgies of Jerusalem-Antioch (St. James) and Alexandria (St. Mark), both of which in the first manuscripts we have of them are considerably Byzantinized. Then in the XIIIth century it displaced them altogether among the Orthodox. It has been translated into many languages for the various Orthodox and Uniate Churches, in which there

[1] "One is holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ in the glory of God the Father."

[2] The Byzantine rite is printed in many books. It is contained in the official *Euchologion* (Orthodox editions at Venice, Uniate ones at Rome) in Greek and translated for the Churches that use other languages. It will be found in Greek in Brightman, *op. cit.* (Chrysostom, pp. 353-399, Basil, 400-411). In Greek and English in J. Robertson: *The divine Liturgies* (London, 1894), Greek and French in P. de Meester: *La divine liturgie* (Paris and Rome, 1897; only Chrysostom), English only in A. Fortescue: *The divine Liturgy* (London, 1908). A fuller description of the service is given in the article *Constantinople, rite of* in the *Catholic Encyclopædia* and in Fortescue; *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (London, 1907, pp. 398-418).

is no principle of uniformity in liturgical language. The older versions are in Syriac (now no longer used), Arabic for Egypt, Syria and Palestine, Georgian (now only used by one Uniate Georgian congregation at Constantinople) and old Slavonic (for Russia and all the Slav Churches). In the XVIIth century the Rumanians translated it into their language. Later Russian missions have caused it to be used in German, Lettish, Esthonian, Finnish, Tartar, Eskimo, a dialect of North American Indian, Chinese and Japanese.[1] One congregation by Lake Egerdir in Asia Minor uses Turkish. There is also an old Armenian version no longer used. In these various languages the Byzantine liturgy is used by all the Orthodox and by a great number of Uniates of this rite.[2] It is thus after the Roman Mass the most wide-spread liturgy in Christendom.[3] Meanwhile another rite from Cæsarea that is almost an older form of the Byzantine became that of the *Armenian Church.* Armenia was evangelized from Cappadocia in the IVth century.[4] For a time there was a Syrian influence too, and the holy liturgy was celebrated both according to the Cappadocian rite in Greek and in the East Syrian form in Syriac.[5] Then the national liturgy was composed in Armenian in the Vth century, chiefly from that of Cappadocia. The Armenian liturgy still has three lessons (from the Old Testament, an Epistle and a Gospel) and other archaic features that have disappeared from the sister-

[1] Brightman (p. lxxxii) and Baumstark (*op. cit.* 63) mention an English version used in North America. This has been contradicted.

[2] The list in Fortescue: *The divine Liturgy*, pp. 7-10.

[3] There is a curious compilation of the Byzantine and Roman rites in Greek called the *Liturgy of St. Peter.* See Brightman, p. xci, and here below p. 161, n. 1.

[4] St. Gregory the Illuminator, the apostle of Armenia, died about 350.

[5] There was also considerable influence from Jerusalem in the early Armenian Church. Its Lectionary and Calendar particularly show this. See F. C. Conybeare: *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 507-532.

rite of Constantinople. The part before the Anaphora is almost entirely Cappadocian ; the Anaphora contains East-Syrian elements. Since about the XIVth century it has adopted certain Roman, or rather Dominican elements through the influence of Western (Dominican) missionaries. Of these elements the most noticeable are the Roman preparatory prayers and the last Gospel (St. John i, 1-14) unknown in any other Eastern rite. The Armenians have another peculiarity in that they do not put water into the chalice ; this is unique.[1] They once had a number of Anaphoras used at different times ; now only one is used. This liturgy is used exclusively by all Armenians, Gregorian or Uniate.

This completes the liturgies of the Antiochene family. A salient point in all of them is that the Intercession follows the Consecration, which comes early in the liturgy, soon after the beginning of the Anaphora and Sanctus.

§ 4. The Alexandrine Rite.

The other great parent-rite in the East is that of Alexandria and Egypt. Here too we must conceive a type of liturgy crystallizing into different forms, which however are related more or less closely to one another. It would be a mistake to suppose that all the Egyptian and Abyssinian liturgies are derived from the one known as that of St. Mark. We have the first indications of Egyptian peculiarities in the works of Origen († 254) and Clement of Alexandria († c. 215).[2] Other Egyptian writers, Dionysius († 265), St. Athanasius († 373),[3] Cyril of Alexandria († 444) give us incidentally further information.[4] The Arabic version

[1] A translation of the Armenian liturgy in Brightman, pp. 412-457.
[2] See above pp. 28-34.
[3] See Probst : *Liturgie des iv Jahrhdts* pp. 106-124.
[4] An outline of the service from their references is given by Brightman : *Eastern Liturgies*, Appendix J, pp. 504-509.

of the Didascalia (also in Books I-VI of the Apostolic Constitutions) substitutes an Egyptian rite for the Syrian one.[1] The first text we have is the *Prayer-book of Sarapion*, Bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, a contemporary of St. Athanasius. It appears that this is an older form adapted by him.[2] It contains among many prayers, blessings and ordination forms a "prayer of oblation" (Anaphora) in which the Word of God, not the Holy Ghost, is evoked after the words of institution. A fragment of a possibly still older text has come to light recently. This is a manuscript found in 1907 at *Deir Balizeh* near Asiut in Upper Egypt, now at the Bodleian, described by Dom P. de Puniet at the Eucharistic Congress at London in 1908.[3] The MS. is of the VIIth or VIIIth cent., the text much older. It throws an important light on the early Egyptian rite in several points. There is part of a litany (the Prayers of the Faithful) whose resemblance to the clauses of 1 Clem. lix-lxi, confirms the theory of an original universal rite in the sense described above (chap. i, § 5). There is also a creed more like the Roman form (Apostles' Creed) than that of Nicæa: "I believe in God the almighty Father, and in his only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, and resurrection of flesh and a holy

[1] Brightman, *op. cit.* Appendix K, pp. 510-511.

[2] So Baumstark in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, xviii, 129-142. The text is in Wobbermin: *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke* (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, new series, ii, 3 b, Leipzig, 1898) and rearranged in Funk; *Didascalia* (Paderborn, 1905) ii, pp. 158-195.

[3] *Report of the Nineteeth Eucharistic Congress* (London, 1909) pp. 367-401. The text is Greek. See Dom P. de Puniet's article in the *Revue bénédictine*, xxvi (1909) pp. 34-51 and his controversy about the Epiklesis of this fragment with S. Salaville in the *Échos d'Orient*, xii, 329-335; xiii, 72-76, 133-134; Mgr. Batiffol in the *Revue du Clergé Français*, lx, 522-530. See also Schermann: *Der liturg. Papyrus von Der-Balyzeh* (*Texte u. Unters.* xxxvi, 1) Leipzig, 1910.

Catholic Church". The fragment of the Anaphora begins with the Sanctus, has no Benedictus and above all has the Epiklesis *before* the words of institution.[1]

The classical text is the so-called *Liturgy of St. Mark*, which holds the same place in this rite as that of St. James in the Syrian rite. It exists in Greek and in Coptic. The Greek text, of which the earliest manuscripts are of the XII and XIII centuries,[2] is considerably influenced by the Byzantine rite. It is not now used. The Monophysite Copts have kept the old Egyptian rite in Coptic. They call its original Anaphora that of *St. Cyril.* As alternative forms they have two other Anaphoras, of *St. Gregory the Theologian* and of *St. Basil.* These were once also used by the Orthodox. Both are translated from the Greek. The Anaphora of St. Gregory is addressed throughout to God the Son, an almost unique feature.[3] It contains many Syrian features. The Anaphora of Basil is a rearrangement of the Byzantine Anaphora to fit it, more or less, into the Egyptian scheme. Both these supplementary forms therefore are foreign to the original Alexandrine rite.

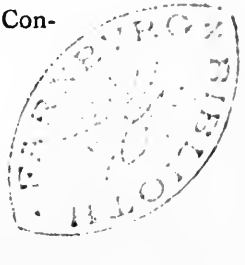
The Liturgy of St. Mark has a short preparation of the offerings,[4] which in the Coptic rite are brought at once to the altar. The Greek form on the other hand has a Great Entrance before the Kiss of Peace—a Byzantine modification. The Enarxis has prayers,

[1] This Epiklesis, however, seems less primitive than those of Sarapion and St. Mark. Other early Egyptian liturgical fragments are those published by Hyvernat in the *Röm. Quartalschr.* I (1887), 330-345, and II (1888), 20-27 (Vth cent.), and by Crum: *Coptic Ostraca* (London, 1902), Nos. 19-27 (VIth-VIIIth cent.).

[2] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, lxiii-lxvii.

[3] One Maronite Anaphora (of St. Peter) and part of the Nestorian Anaphora have the same peculiarity.

[4] The Greek form has the long προσκομιδή borrowed from Constantinople.



but no litanies.[1] Then come a litany for various people, four lessons (only two in the Greek) with the Trisagion before the Gospel. The Liturgy of the Faithful begins with a long litany for all people (after this the Great Entrance in the Greek), then the Creed and the Kiss of Peace.[2] The Anaphora begins "Lift up your (or: our) hearts" etc. Here comes the chief characteristic of the Egyptian rite. The whole of the Great Intercession with the diptychs and memory of the Saints (which in the Antiochene type of liturgy follows the Consecration) comes here, before the Sanctus during, as we should say, the Preface.[3]

The Sanctus has no Benedictus, only: "Holy, holy, holy Lord of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of thy holy glory," now an Egyptian peculiarity.[4] The words of institution follow almost at once, then the Anamnesis and Epiklesis, the Lord's Prayer, elevation ("Holy things for the holy"), breaking and mixture. During the Communion Ps. cl is sung. The Greek adds a Byzantinized litany after the Communion. A prayer of thanksgiving, blessing and dismissal end the service.[4]

It will be seen from this how strongly Byzantinized the Greek Liturgy of St. Mark is. For the pure Egyptian rite we must always turn to the Coptic form. This has, by the way, a great number of short invocations and exclamations still in Greek. It is evidently a version from the old Greek before the influence of Constantinople.

[1] The Greek liturgy has *Kyrie eleison* said nine times by the people, interspersed with prayers.

[2] The Greek puts the Kiss of Peace before the Creed to make the order the same as at Constantinople.

[3] But "Preface" is a Western term, which it were better not to use of any Eastern rite.

[4] But it is a question whether in the Antiochene rites the *Benedictus* is not an interpolation from the West. See p. 322.

[5] Greek form in Brightman, pp. 113-143, Coptic, 144-188.

Derived from the Alexandrine rite is that of the Abyssinian Church, in every way a daughter of the Church of Egypt. The *Abyssinian* (Ethiopic) *liturgy* is an expanded version of St. Mark in Ethiopic. But the Abyssinians have also a number of other Anaphoras, or parts of an Anaphora, attributed to various authors, some of which show Syrian influence. The normal Anaphora (of the Apostles) is not the same as St. Mark.[1]

We have said that the Greek St. Mark, once used by the Egyptian Melkites, was replaced by the Byzantine rite in the XIIIth century. It is not now used by anyone. The Coptic rite is used by the national (Monophysite) Church of Egypt[2] and in a slightly modified form by the Uniate Copts. The Abyssinian rite has not yet been printed officially for use in church. Only parts of it are edited in Europe.[3] The few Abyssinian Catholics at present use the Roman Mass in their own language, till their rite has been revised and published by Catholic authority.

§ 5. The Gallican Rite.

In the West we find two parent types of liturgy, the Roman and the Gallican. The Roman rite is the one discussed thoughout the rest of this book. Here we need only note that in the first period it was the local rite of the city of Rome only. It was not used in North Italy; even the Southern dioceses of the peninsula had their own liturgical use. Nor does the old rite of Africa appear to have been Roman,

[1] Brightman, pp. 189-244. The Abyssinian Proanaphoral liturgy and their invariable intercession are from the St. Mark rite. The rest of their Anaphora is an independent tradition from the Egyptian Church Order (p. 56).

[2] For the books and editions see Brightman, lxvii-lxxii.

[3] For editions see Brightman, pp. lxxii-lxxvi.

though it had Roman features.[1] Since about the VIIIth century this local Roman rite gradually spread all over the West, displacing the others, but was itself modified by them in the process, as we shall see.[2]

Before that time the rest of Western Europe, almost to the gates of Rome,[3] used other rites. It is usual to class all these Western (Latin but not Roman) rites under the general name of *Gallican.* That is so far justified, inasmuch as they all differ from Rome and are closely related among themselves. We know most about the Gallican rite in the strict sense, as used in Gaul. Obvious variants of the same type are found in Spain, Britain, North Italy and other countries. Some writers think that Spain at first used the Roman liturgy and that this was gradually influenced by that of Gaul.[4] We should say rather that during the first three centuries the Church of Spain used the universal fluid rite, that was not specially Roman but common to all Churches. Then, when separate rites were formed, she was inspired not by Rome but by Gaul. The same applies to the other Western Churches.

The origin and reason of this non-Roman type of liturgy in the West has been much discussed. In the first place we have the anomalous and unique situation that, till the VIIIth century, the West did not apply the general principle that rite follows patriarchate. That the Roman Pope was Patriarch of all the West

[1] For the African liturgy see pp. 45-47, and Mr. W. C. Bishop's article there quoted; also Cabrol: *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie*, i, 591-657 and Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i, 298-302.

[2] Pp. 177-184.

[3] In 416 Pope Innocent I wrote to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium in Umbria (Gubbio), actually in the Roman province, complaining that even there the Roman rite was not used.

[4] So Probst: *Die abendländische Messe vom 5ten bis zum 8ten Jahrhundert* (Münster i, W, 1896); pp. 374-379; 390-397.

was a fact not disputed by anyone.[1] And yet the other Western Churches did not follow his rite. A number of scholars[2] think that they did, that the Gallican rite is nothing but the old Roman rite before it was modified.[3] Dom Cagin and Abbot Cabrol, who are the chief defenders of this thesis, point out that in two important points the Gallican and Roman rites agree among themselves and differ from all others. One is the influence of the calendar, which in the West profoundly affects the liturgy, whereas the Eastern liturgies remain the same all the year round (except for the lessons); the other point is the form of the introduction to the words of institution, which in both the Roman and Gallican rites is: "Qui *pridie* quam pateretur," whereas most Eastern liturgies have the form: "In the *night* in which he was betrayed".[4] They also try to show that the differences which have led most people to distinguish the Roman and Gallican rites as separate sources are neither fundamental nor original. The Gallican liturgies, for instance, have the reading of the diptychs and the kiss of peace before the Preface; at Rome the diptychs occur in the Canon and the kiss of peace just before the Communion. The defenders of this view maintain that, first neither of these elements is primitive or essential and secondly that the Roman rite too had them originally before the preface.[5]

[1] His legate at Nicæa in 325, Hosius of Cordova, expressed this very clearly. He signed the acts "in the name of the Church of Rome, the Churches of Italy, Spain and all the West".

[2] Probst: *Die abendländische Messe*, 264-268, Marchesi: *La liturgia gallicana* (Rome, 1867); Paul Cagin, O.S.B.: *Paléographie musicale*, v, pp. 70-97, and: *L'Eucharistia* (Paris, 1912); Cabrol: *Les Origines liturgiques*, 347-364; H. Lucas, S.J., in the *Dublin Review*, vol. cxiii (1893), pp. 564-588.

[3] Probst thinks that this modification of the Roman rite was made by Pope Damasus (366-384), cfr. *Liturgie des iv Jahrhdts*, 445-472.

[4] Not, however, *Test Dni.* or the Egyptian Church Orders.

[5] Cabrol, *op. cit.* 359-363. For the place of the Roman kiss of peace see below p. 370, for the displacement of the Canon, pp. 138-171.

On the other hand, the view generally accepted is that the Gallican family of liturgies comes from a different source than Rome and is more or less closely connected with the East. The old idea, defended chiefly by Anglican writers, was that it came from Asia Minor, Ephesus particularly, in the second century. It was brought to Lyons by the disciples of St. John and spread over Gaul, Northern Italy, Spain and Britain. These writers then spoke of an Asiatic or Ephesian rite, as distinct from the other classes and considered the Gallican use as one of the earliest and most important of all.[1] This theory is now abandoned. Mgr. Duchesne has pointed out that the Gallican rite is very elaborate and cannot be older than the fourth century. At that time Lyons had no longer any importance; it could not have been the centre of so far-reaching a liturgical influence. The Gallican rite, he thinks, represents a late development of an Eastern (Antiochene) liturgy, brought to the West not before the IVth century. He suggests Milan as the centre from which it spread. Milan in the IVth century was the Metropolis of Northern Italy and the second most important see in the West. Mgr. Duchesne further suggests Auxentius, Bishop of Milan (355-374), a Cappadocian, as the man who brought this rite from the East.[2]

With regard to this question it may be said that, whatever the origin of the Gallican rite, when it appears clearly, in the VIth century or so, it is certainly

[1] So J. M. Neale and G. H. Forbes; *The ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church* (Burntisland, 1855); W. Palmer: *Origines Liturgicæ* (London, 1839); see F. E. Warren: *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881).

[2] *Origines du Culte*, chap. iii. This is the thesis attacked by Abbot Cabrol in his *Origines liturgiques*, loc. cit. On the other hand Duchesne has answered Cagin's theory in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, 1900 (*L'origine de la liturgie gallicane*, p. 31 seq.); P. Lejay takes Duchesne's side (*ib.* 1897, 181 seq. and *La Messe Latine*, 91-96, 173-192, 277-278).

a different use from that of Rome. In the West this use developes into a number of important liturgies, used by the Churches of North Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain and others. There then follows a period of partial amalgamation with the Roman rite, till at last Rome drives its rival from the field and, except in two corners, remains the only rite of the West. With regard to the question of its origin, there is another point of view, ignored by those who seek this elsewhere. Namely, is the Gallican rite derived from any foreign source at all? If so, what liturgy was used in Gaul, etc., before it was borrowed? A more reasonable position seems to be that it is simply the local development of the original common rite brought to these countries by the first missionaries. So there is no need to look for any other source.[1] Later in various places there were constant borrowings of special features from the East (particularly in the VIth and VIIth cent.).

We have a detailed account of the rite as used in Paris in the VIth century in the first letter of St. Germanus of Paris († 576).[2] In this he explains the prayers and ceremonies of the Mass.[3] Later documents are the so-called *Missale Gothicum*,[4] a collection of Gallican Masses of the VIIth or VIIIth century, already showing some Roman influence, then the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* of Bobbio,[5] VIth or VIIth

[1] See W. C. Bishop: *The Primitive Form of Consecration* (Church Quarterly Rev. July, 1908) p. 393, n. 1.

[2] P.L. lxxii, 89-94. It should be noted that this local Parisian rite especially has borrowed Byzantine features, which are not necessarily common to all Gallican uses.

[3] Duchesne's description of the Gallican Mass (*Origines du Culte*, chap. vii) is based on St. Germanus' letter.

[4] First published by Tomasi (*Op. omnia*, Rome, 1751, vol. vi), republished by Mabillon in his *Liturgia gallicana* (Paris, 1685) and by Muratori, *Liturgia romana*, Venice, 1748, 2 vols. and in Migne, P.L. lxxii, 225-318.

[5] First published by Mabillon (*Museum italicum*, Paris, 1687, i, 2); in Muratori, *op. cit.* and P.L. lxxii, 447-580.

century, Gallican in the pro-anaphoral part with a Roman Canon, the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*[1] of about the same date and related to the Missale Gothicum. Franz Josef Mone published eleven very early pure Gallican Masses in his *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jhrhdt.*[2] Dom A. Wilmart has reduced these to seven, six for any Sunday and the last in honour of St. Germanus. He ascribes them to the VIIth century, in France.[3]

The scheme of the Gallican liturgy as we see it in these documents (St. Germanus especially) is this:

The clergy enter as an antiphon is sung. The deacon commands silence and the celebrant greets the people: "Dominus sit semper vobiscum". R. "Et cum spiritu tuo". The Trisagion is sung in Greek and Latin, three boys sing Kyrie eleison thrice, the choir sings the Benedictus. A collect follows referring to it. There are a Prophecy, an Epistle[4] and a Gospel. After the Epistle they sing the Benedicite (Dan. iii, 57-88) and the Trisagion again before and after the gospel. A sermon follows, then an Intercession; namely the deacon chants the clauses of a litany, the people (or choir) answer each time: "Precamur te Domine, miserere" and the celebrant finishes with a collect. The catechumens are prayed for and dismissed. Here begins the Mass of the Faith-

[1] Tomasi, *op. cit.*, Mabillon and Muratori, *op. cit.* P.L. lxxii, 339-382.

[2] Frankfort, 1850, reproduced in Migne P.L. cxxxviii, 863-882.

[3] *L'age et l'ordre des Messes de Mone* (Rev. Ben. 1911, vol. xxviii, pp. 377-390). To celebrate the local patron only appears to be the simple form of the old Gallican *Sanctorale* (*ib.* p. 390; cfr. E. Bishop: *The Bosworth Psalter*, p. 154.)

For other Gallican documents see Duchesne, *op. cit.* pp. 143-152; Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i, 301-310. Best edition: J. M. Neale and G. H. Forbes: *The ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church* (Burntisland, 1855).

[4] On a Saint's day his life is read instead of the Epistle.

ful. The offertory is made while a chant called *Sonus* (our offertory-chant) is sung, ending with Alleluia. In Germanus there has already been a preparation of the offerings before the Mass began (the Eastern προσκομιδή); they are here brought to the altar with pomp, as in the Eastern "Great Entrance". The earlier Gallican rite had instead a real Offertory (the people bringing up the gifts) here.[1] The offerings are veiled while the celebrant says a prayer. This prayer (our Secret) is called *Oratio super sindonem* at Milan. The Diptychs of the living and dead are read and a prayer is said for them. Then comes the Kiss of Peace with a prayer; the Anaphora follows, beginning as everywhere with the dialogue: *Sursum corda*, etc., and the Preface (called *Contestatio* or *Immolatio* in Gaul). The people sing the Sanctus; and a short form (the *Post Sanctus*) introduces the account of the Last Supper and the words of institution. The next prayer (*Post pridie* or *Post mysterium*) contains the Anamnesis and Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost.[2] The fraction is a complicated rite in which the particles are arranged in the form of a cross; meanwhile an antiphon is sung. A prayer leads to the Our Father which is sung, as in the East, by the people as well as by the celebrant. The people are blessed and the Communion follows. A last prayer (*Postcommunio*) ends the service.[3]

Such is the general outline of the old Gallican rite. But there was much variety in detail everywhere. A Capitularium of the Frankish bishops in 742[4] allows

[1] Synod of Mâcon in 585, Can. 4 (Hefele-Leclercq, iii, 209). See E. Bishop in the *Hom. of Narsai*, 114-117.

[2] The Anamnesis and Epiklesis are in some documents very vague or even altogether absent.

[3] For a more detailed description see Duchesne, *op. cit.* chap. vii, and Rietschel *op. cit.* pp. 311-316.

[4] Stephanus Baluze: *Capitularia regum francorum* (Paris, 1730) p. 824.

every priest to arrange his own "Libellus ordinis" (service-book), as long as he submits it to his bishop for approval; and Charles the Great when he made laws for uniformity in the Roman rite (c. 784)[1] gave as his reason the confusion of liturgical use that had hitherto prevailed.

These various Gallican rites then began to be influenced by Rome. The process lasts through the VIth, VIIth and VIIIth centuries. Most documents that remain date from this time and represent local liturgies already interpolated with Roman additions. The feeling was growing throughout Western Europe that the safest model in liturgical matters was the practice of the Pope's cathedral—the "usus romanæ curiæ". But there were occasional waves of reaction. An interesting case of this happened in Spain. In 538 Profuturus, Bishop of Braga, wrote to Pope Vigilius (537-555) asking him about certain liturgical matters. The Pope in answer[2] sent him a specimen of the Roman Mass for Easter day. Profuturus and his colleagues adopted this scheme and completed it for other days from their own Spanish books. Hence the "mixed" rite used in parts of Spain.[3] Then after 588 Councils command uniformity in the pure Spanish (Gallican) rite and the extirpation of Roman elements. But in the XIth century the Roman rite in its pure form was imposed in Spain, so that eventually the old "mixed" liturgy was reduced to one or two cities only. We shall come back to the spread of the Roman rite by which the Gallican family of liturgies eventually disappeared.[4]

But there are two corners of Western Europe where

[1] See below, pp. 121, 178. [2] Mansi, ix, 34.

[3] But "Missale mixtum" probably means only "mixed" with the Lectionary, Gradual, etc., as "missale plenarium".

[4] Pp. 177-182

the old local rites are still used instead of the Roman, Milan and Toledo. The liturgies of both these places are generally believed to be Romanized survivals of the Gallican rite.

In the case of *Toledo* there seems to be no doubt as to the origin. In a chapel of the Cathedral a college of chaplains keep what is called the Mozarabic liturgy. The meaning of the name has been much discussed.[1] It is the last remnant of the old Spanish rite, but mixed with Roman elements. From the XIth century this Mozarabic rite was more and more driven back by that of Rome. At times it seemed about to disappear entirely. At last Cardinal Francis Ximenes (1500) revised the books and founded chapters at Toledo, Salamanca and Valladolid[2] to keep its use.[3] It is Romanized chiefly by the insertion of the Roman form of the words of institution.[4] The Mozarabic rite then is in essence the old Spanish liturgy. That this was closely related to the Gallican rite is admitted by everyone. The only discussion is as to which influenced

[1] *Mozarabica* from *Mozarabes*. It has been explained as corrupted from *mixti arabes*, meaning the mixed Christian Arab-speaking population of Spain, as distinct from the pure Moslem Arabs. The favourite explanation now seems to be that it is an Arabic word *musta'rab*. This would be a not impossible form (part. pass. of the Xth form of *'araba*, meaning "one who is considered an Arab"); but there are difficulties about this interpretation too. In any case *Mozarabes* was a common name for the Christian Arab-speaking subjects of the Khalifa of Cordova. They evolved a literature of their own (H. Goussen: *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber*, Leipzig, 1909). The title of the Mozarabic missal is: *Missale mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes;* the breviary is *Breviarium gothicum*, from the old Visigothic Kingdom.

[2] These last two foundations have since disappeared.

[3] Ximenes' Missal and Breviary form vols. lxxxv and lxxxvi of Migne P.L.; edited by A. Lesleus (first edition, Rome, 1755).

[4] This was not done till Ximenes' edition appeared in 1500. The Roman *Kyrie eleison* was inserted in Masses for the dead much earlier and there are Roman elements that go back as far as we can trace. These may come from the time of Pope Vigilius' letter to Profuturus of Braga (above, p. 104).

the other[1] and then as to the origin of all these Western non-Roman uses.[2]

The city of *Milan* also has its own rite, commonly called Ambrosian.[3] As it is now used it is much more Romanized than that of Toledo. It has the whole Roman Canon. But it is not difficult to eliminate these Roman elements and find behind them the old Milanese rite. The origin of this rite seems less clear than that of the Spanish liturgy. A number of scholars believe it to be simply an older form of the Roman.[4] Then there are those who admit that it is Gallican, but believe all Gallican liturgies to be Roman in origin.[5] Mgr. Duchesne, on the other hand, considers the rite of Milan to be the starting-point of all the Gallican family and to be derived from that of Antioch.[6] That it is related to the Gallican liturgies and not to that of Rome (as the Roman rite is now) seems obvious. It has nearly all the Gallican features; even with regard to the Canon there are forms used on rare occasions[7] which represent the older local Anaphora, and they are quite Gallican. An Epiklesis used only on Maundy Thursday preserves the invocation of God the Son—certainly a very archaic note (see below p.

[1] Lesleus (op. cit.) thinks that Spain evolved its rite from Asia first and then influenced Gaul. Others (Mabillon, Bickell, etc. think the opposite happened.

[2] See above pp. 98-101. A description of the Mozarabic rite will be found in Rietschel, *op. cit.* pp. 316-327. Duchesne uses it to complete his description of the Gallican Mass, (*Origines*, chap. vii).

[3] This merely shows how large the figure of St. Ambrose († 397) looms in the history of Milan. There is no reason to suppose that he influenced the liturgy of his city more than any other bishop. In the same way St. Isidore of Seville († 636) was long considered the author of the Mozarabic rite. Really liturgies are never composed by any one person. They are always the result of a gradual evolution. Pamelius: *Liturgica Latinorum* (Köln, 1571, i, pp. 266-292) has collected the liturgical allusions in St. Ambrose's works.

[4] Ceriani: *Notitia liturgiæ ambrosianæ* (Milan, 1895), Magistretti in all his works and others.

[5] Above p. 99. [6] But see p. 101.

[7] On Maundy Thursday and Easter eve.

404). The most notable (Gallican or Eastern) peculiarities of the Ambrosian Mass are the litany chanted by the deacon, with the answer: *Domine miserere* to each clause, on Sundays in Lent after the *Ingressa* (Introit), the triple Kyrie eleison sung after the Gospel (probably also an Eastern infiltration), the remnant of a procession of the oblation before the Offertory,[1] the Creed said after the Offertory (as in the Antiochene and Byzantine rites), the Gallican *Post Sanctus* used on Holy Saturday, the prayer *Mandans quoque* following the words of institution and based on 1 Cor. xi, 26. This last corresponds to the Mozarabic, Antiochene, Bysantine and Coptic rites. The triple *Kyrie eleison* at the end is also Eastern, and many chants are versions of Greek troparia.[2]

Fragments of a Gallican liturgy used along the Danube in the early Middle Ages have been published by Mai [3] and re-edited by G. Mercati.[4]

§ 6. Table of Liturgies.

We have therefore this concept of all the old Christian liturgies: First there was a practically universal, but

[1] The *Antiphona post evangelium* at Milan corresponds to the Gallican *Sonus*, Mozarabic *Laudes*, Antiochene σιγησάτω, Byzantine χερουβικόν that accompany the entrance of the oblation. But at Milan this ceremony is crossed by a normal Offertory.

[2] Descriptions of the Ambrosian Mass will be found in Duchesne: *Origines*, chap. vii, Rietschel, *op. cit.* pp. 303-308. There is a translation into English by E. G. C. Atchley: *The Ambrosian Liturgy* (London, Cope & Fenwick, 1909). See also the article by Paul Lejay (with bibliography) in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie*, i, 1373-1442. The oldest known document of this rite is the *Biasca Sacramentary* in the Ambrosian library at Milan. Magistretti has edited a Pontifical and Manual of the XIth-XVth cent. (*Monumenta vet. lit. ambr.*, 3 vols., Milan, 1897-1904).

[3] *Script. vet. nova coll.* (Rome, 1828), ii, 208-239.

[4] In the *Studj e Testi.*, no. vii (Rome, 1902), 47-71.

still vague, rite used at least in all the chief centres during the first three centuries. For this rite we have the allusions of early Fathers and remnants in the somewhat later "Church Orders".

From the fourth century the older fluid rite is crystallised into four parent liturgies, those of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome and Gaul. All others are developments of one of these types.

I. ANTIOCH.

1. Pure in the Apostolic Constitutions (Greek).

2. In the form of *Jerusalem* in the liturgy of St. James.

a. St. James in Greek, now almost supplanted by the Byzantine rite, but still used once a year by the Orthodox at Zakynthos and Jerusalem.

b. St. James in Syriac, used with many variable anaphoras by the Syrian Jacobites and Uniates.

c. In a Romanized form as the *Maronite* liturgy. Derived from Antioch-Jerusalem.

[3. The *Chaldean* rite with three anaphoras, used by Nestorians and Chaldean Uniates. Syriac.

a. The *Malabar* rite used by the schismatics is either the Nestorian or the Jacobite liturgy. Syriac.

b. The *Uniate Malabar* rite is the Chaldean rite considerably Romanized. Syriac.]

4. The great *Byzantine* rite, used by all the Orthodox and by Melkites and other Byzantine Uniates in Greek, Old Slavonic, Arabic, Rumanian and other languages. The second most wide-spread rite in Christendom.

5. The *Armenian* rite, used by Gregorian (= schismatical) and Uniate Armenians in the classical form of their language.

II. ALEXANDRIA.

1. *a.* The Liturgy of St. Mark in Greek, now no longer used by anyone.

b. St. Mark in Coptic with two additional Anaphoras, used by the Copts, both Monophysite and Uniate.

2. The *Ethiopic* liturgy with 15 or more Anaphoras, used by the Monophysite Church of Abyssinia.

III. ROME.

1. The original pure Roman rite, no longer used.

2. The present Roman rite (with Gallican additions) used in Latin by nearly the whole Roman Patriarchate, in a Slav dialect in parts of Dalmatia, occasionally in Greek at Rome. Immeasurably the most widespread rite of all.

3. Various later *mediæval* modifications of this rite used by religious orders (Dominicans, Carthusians, Carmelites) and in many dioceses (Lyons, Paris, Trier, Salisbury, York, etc.) of which most are now abolished.[1]

IV. THE GALLICAN RITE.

1. A family of liturgies once used in Gaul, Spain, North Italy, Britain, with modifications over all North-Western Europe and apparently in Africa. Latin. It disappeared gradually since about the VIIIth century, except for two remnants, namely

2. The *Ambrosian* rite, still used at Milan.

3. The *Mozarabic* rite at Toledo.

[1] This part of our table necessarily anticipates what follows in the next chapters.

CHAPTER III.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN RITE.

§ 1. State of the Question.

WHEN we turn to our own Roman rite we come to what is perhaps the most difficult question in the whole field of liturgical study, namely how it arose. The Roman Mass has (especially in the Canon) certain peculiarities that separate it from all Eastern liturgies, indeed we may say from the Gallican rite too, and so from every other use in Christendom. These peculiarities are chiefly the absence of all litanies of intercession said by the deacon and the comparative eclipse of his function in the liturgy (except for the Gospel); then the place of the kiss of peace just before the Communion, instead of at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful as in all other rites. But the chief peculiarities and the greatest difficulties are the absence of any invocation of the Holy Ghost to consecrate the oblation and the order of the various elements of the Canon. This last is the great question of all. It seems clear to anyone who examines our Canon that its order has been somehow dislocated. There is an absence of logical sequence in the elements of this prayer that can hardly fail to strike one, especially if we compare it with the Antiochene and Alexandrine Anaphoras. The Canon is indeed full of difficulties.

There is the prayer: *Supplices te rogamus* which both by its place and its form so plainly suggests the ghost of an Invocation with all the essential part left out. And there is the order of the great Intercession. Namely, every rite has somewhere in the liturgy a long Intercession in which the celebrant remembers the Saints, and prays for all sorts and conditions of men, the bishop, the faithful, the country and so on, names and prays for the living and dead. In the Alexandrine rite this Intercession has been inserted before the Sanctus, part of what we should call the Preface,[1] in nearly all the Antiochene family it follows, all together, after the Consecration.[2] Now in the Roman Mass we find this Intercession scattered throughout the Canon. Part of it comes immediately after the Sanctus, when the celebrant prays for the Pope, the local bishop and "all the orthodox and professors of the Catholic and Apostolic faith". Then follows the Commemoration of the living and a first list of Saints. The rest comes after the Consecration, when he remembers the dead and adds another list of Saints. It seems impossible that this dislocated Intercession can be the original form.

The problem then is when and why these peculiarities of the Roman Mass arose. We find them already in the first complete text we have, that of the Gelasian Sacramentary.[3] From that time forward the history of the Mass is comparatively clear. There remains indeed the question of certain additions to it from non-Roman (Gallican) sources [4]; but it is less difficult

[1] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, pp. 126-131.

[2] *Ib.* Apost. Const. pp. 21-23; St. James, 54-58; Byzantine, 331-337; Armenian, 439-444; the Nestorian rite has it before the Anaphora begins, 275-281; so also the Gallican rite, Duchesne: *Origines*, 199-201. Some authorities think that the Roman Intercession too once came (with the diptychs) at the Offertory.

[3] Its date is doubtful, see below, pp. 119-121. Provisionally we may place it at about the VIIth century.

[4] See below, pp. 182-184.

to explain these. Then we come to the middle ages, from which we have an abundance of documents, and so to the reform of Pius V (1566-1572) and to modern times. From the Gelasian Sacramentary till to-day our history is fairly clear. It is when we go back from the VIIth century or so that we come to difficulties. There are some fragments, allusions in letters that give us incidentally phrases of the Mass as we know it now, one (*de Sacramentis*, see pp. 128-132)gives us a large fragment of the Canon; but they leave many vital questions unanswered. Ascending from them we come to the thick veil that hangs over the Roman rite in the IVth and IIIrd centuries. If only Pope Damasus or Cornelius had thought of writing out an exact account of how they said Mass! At last in the IInd century we come again to firm ground. We know how the holy mysteries were then celebrated at Rome from Justin Martyr's famous account (pp. 18-21). But meanwhile we have crossed the great change. Justin's account shows us the liturgy as it was before the change took place that was to constitute the special Roman rite. What he describes is the old common rite of all Christian centres, used then (with no doubt local modifications) at Rome as everywhere else. These then are the two ends of the chain whose intermediate links are hidden. In the second century Rome used much the same liturgy as other Churches, East and West; by the VIIth she had evolved from that her own particular rite, differing in important points from any other. Justin Martyr and the Gelasian Sacramentary represent the extreme ends on either side of this development. What happened between? Who made the changes? It is in answer to this question that all manner of conjectures are made, never more than at the present time The documents are so few and in some cases

so doubtful that there is plenty of room for conjecture; it must always be remembered that all theories are only conjecture. The very variety of the opinions defended by students, who all know and use the same handful of documents, shows how little absolute certainty there is about the whole matter. All that one can say for certain is that the change was not made in the time of Justin, it was when the Gelasian book was composed. But before we examine the various theories, since we shall have to allude constantly to the earliest Sacramentaries and other documents, it will be well first to describe what they are.

§ 2. Earliest liturgical books.

Before we come to the books of the Roman rite a word should be said about liturgical books in general. When were the prayers and ceremonies of the holy offices written down at all? During the first period (roughly the first two centuries) the only book used in church was the Bible. Nothing else was written down because nothing else was fixed. The celebrant and his deacons said their prayers extempore, the people answered short exclamations, such as Amen, Alleluia, Kyrie eleison, "And with thy spirit," more or less spontaneously. There was practically no ceremonial. Things were done in the simplest way as they were wanted.[1] Habit and memory caused the same order to be observed and to a great extent the same expressions to be used long before anything was written down.[2] Renaudot thought that even by the IVth

[1] Ornamental ceremonial evolved sooner in the East than in the West. The *Homilies of Narsai* (in East Syria, Vth cent.) show already an elaborate ritual development. See Dom R. H. Connolly's translation, (Cambridge, 1909) and Mr. E. Bishop's first Appendix (*Ritual Splendour*).

[2] Above pp.

century there were still no liturgical books.[1] He argues this from a passage in which St. Basil, distinguishing between Scripture and tradition, quotes liturgical prayers as belonging to tradition: "Who," he says, "of the Saints has written down for us the words of the sacred invocation in the consecration of the bread and chalice?"[2]

However this only means that the Epiklesis is not in the Bible; the "Saints" in question are the inspired writers, as is clear from the whole context. Probst on the other hand tries to establish that there were written books as early as the time of the Apostolic Fathers.[3] He thinks that the exact quotations made by these Fathers[4] could only be made from written texts—certainly a weak argument, since prayers and formulas may easily become more or less stereotyped, be constantly heard, well known, and so just what would occur to an ascetic writer (as implicit quotations), before they are otherwise written down. A better argument of Probst is that the Liturgy in the VIIIth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, though now incorporated in a work of about the Vth century, must have been written down before it was superseded, first by St. James' liturgy and then by St. Basil's reform in the IVth century; no one would have troubled to draw up the older discarded form after that. We have, as a matter of fact, the first references to liturgical books at the time of the Donatist schism in the IVth century. Optatus of Mileve, writing about the year 370, asks the Donatists: "You have no doubt cleaned the palls,[5] tell us what you

[1] *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* (ed. 2, Frankfurt, 1847, i, pp. ix, xi).

[2] *de Spir. Scto*, xxvii (P.L. xxxii, 187).

[3] *Die ältesten römischen Sakramentarien u. Ordines* (Münster, 1892) 1-19.

[4] We have seen such quotations in Clement and Justin etc., above pp. 11-13, 18-21.

[5] All the linen cloths used for Mass.

have done with the books (indicate quid de codicibus feceritis)".[1] What were these codices? Evidently books used liturgically and not the Bible, because the Donatists thought them polluted. They had taken both palls and codices from the Catholics; Optatus tells them ironically that since they wash the palls from Catholic pollution, they ought to wash the books too. So also St. Augustine reproaches the Donatists with being in schism with the very Churches whose names they read in the "holy books,"[2] apparently the Diptychs on which the names of persons and Churches for whom they pray are written.[3] A Synod at Hippo in 393 incidentally shows us the beginning of written liturgies. Its 25th canon forbids anyone to use written out prayers of other Churches till he has shown his copy to the more learned brethren.[4]

By about the middle of the IVth century then there were certainly some liturgical books. How long before that anything was written one cannot say. One conceives portions of the liturgy written down as occasion required. The first thing written appears to have been the Diptychs. The Diptychs (*δίπτυχα* from *δίς* and *πτυχή*: 'twice-folded') were two tablets (covered with wax at the beginning) hinged and folded together like a book. On one the names of the living for whom prayers were to be said were written, on the other the names of the dead. These names were then read out by a deacon at the appointed place in the liturgy. Their use, in the East at any rate, went on till far into the middle ages.[5] Then the lessons were noted in

[1] *de Schism. Donat.* v. (Corpus script. eccl. latin. vol. xxvi, Vienna, 1893, p. 153). [2] Ep. lii, 3 (P.L. xxxiii, 195); Ep. liii, 3 (*ib.* 197).

[3] Unless he means that the names of these churches occur in the Bible.

[4] Hefele-Leclercq: *Histoire des Conciles*, ii (Paris, 1908), 88, cfr. Probst, *op. cit.* 13-14.

[5] Sarapion mentions the recital of names in the Liturgy (§ xiii, Funk: *Didascalia*, ii, 176); so also the Synod of Elvira, about the

a book. The old custom of reading from the Bible straight on till the bishop made a sign to stop,[1] soon gave way to a more orderly plan of reading a certain fixed amount at each liturgy. Marginal notes were added to the Bible showing this. Then an Index giving the first and last words of the amount (*περικοπή*) to be read is drawn up (*συναξάριον*, *capitulare*). Other books were read besides the Bible (lives of Saints and homilies in the divine office); a complete Index giving references for these too is the "Companion (to the books)"—*comes*, *liber comitis* or *comicus*. Lastly, to save trouble, the whole texts are written out as they are wanted, so we come to the (liturgical) Gospel-book, Epistle-book and complete Lectionary (*εὐαγγέλιον*, *ἀπόστολος*, *evangelarium*, *epistolarium*, *lectionarium*). Meanwhile the prayers said by the celebrant and deacon are written out too. Here we must notice an important difference between the older arrangement and the one we have now in the West. Our present books are arranged according to the *service* at which they are used; thus the missal contains all that is wanted for Mass, the breviary contains all the divine office, and so on. The older system, still kept in all Eastern churches, considers not the service, but the *person* who uses the book. One book contained all the bishop (or priest) says at any service, the deacon has his book, the choir theirs, and so on. The bishop's book (of which the priest also used whatever he needed) is the Sacramentary (*sacramentarium*, *liber sacra-*

year 300 (Can. 29, Hefele-Leclercq, i, 237), St. Jerome (*Comm. in Ierem.* ii, 11, P.L. xxiv, 784; *Comm. in Ezech.* vi, 18, P.L. xxv, 175), St. Cyril Jer. (*Cat. Myst.* v, 9, P.G. xxxiii, 1116), etc. On Diptychs see E. Bishop in *Hom. of Narsai*, App. iii (pp. 97-117) and *Journ. Theol. Studies*, xi (1909) pp. 67-73. In the controversies of the first eight centuries the insertion or removal of names in the diptychs is a continual source of dispute.

[1] So in Justin Martyr's time, above, p. 20.

mentorum,[1] in Greek εὐχολόγιον). It contained only the celebrant's part of the liturgy ; but it also contained his part of many other services, ordination, baptism, blessings and exorcisms—in short all sacerdotal functions. The deacon had his book too (the διακονικόν) ; but as his function at Rome was reduced to singing the Gospel this book is rather an Eastern speciality. And then, later, the choir had the psalms and responses arranged together in the *liber antiphonarius* or *gradualis*, the *liber responsalis*, *psalterium*, later still the *hymnarium*, *liber sequentialis*, *troponarius* and so on, of which in the early middle ages there was a great variety.[2] The earliest Roman Sacramentaries then are our first complete sources for our rite. Of these three stand out as the earliest, the most complete, the most important in every way. These are the so-called Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries. The names imply an authorship which in each case is probably fictitious. The origin and date of each is much discussed.

The oldest of the three is the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*. Only one manuscript of it is extant, written in the VIIth century. It was found by Joseph Bianchini in the library of the cathedral chapter of Verona and published by him in the fourth volume of his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* (Rome, 1735). Bianchini is responsible for the quite arbitrary attri-

[1] *Sacramenta* in this case means, at any rate primarily, the Mass.

[2] The fact that all Eastern rites still keep the older arrangement is important and should be remembered by people who quote their books. They do not correspond to ours and cannot be spoken of in terms of our books. An εὐχολόγιον, for instance, is by no means the same thing as a missal. It contains only the celebrant's part of the liturgy, but also contains all other Sacraments and innumerable Sacramentals and prayers for other occasions, which we put in the Pontifical and Ritual. We shall come back to the reason of our different arrangement later (p. 189).

bution to St. Leo I (440-461). On the strength of this the Sacramentary was included by the Ballerini brothers in their edition of St. Leo's works (Venice, 1753-1757) and has ever since borne the name Leonine, though no one now thinks that St. Leo had anything to do with it.[1]

This Sacramentary represents a pure Roman use with none of the later Gallican additions. But it is only a fragment; it has no Ordinary of the Mass nor Canon. It is a collection of Propria (Collects, Secrets, Prefaces, Postcommunions, Orationes super populum) beginning in the middle of the sixth Mass for April and ending with a blessing for the font " In ieiunio mensis decimi "(the winter Ember days). In each month groups of Masses are given, often large groups, for each feast or other occasion. Thus in June there are 28 Masses for St. Peter and St. Paul, each headed: " Item alia,"[2] there are 14 Masses for St. Lawrence,[3] twenty-three for the anniversary of a bishop's ordination[4] and so on. It is not a book drawn up for liturgical use, but a private collection of as many alternative Masses as the compiler could find.[5] He is very careless; he inserts Masses in the wrong place continually.[6] The collection is clearly Roman; it is full of local allusions to Rome.[7] Mgr. Duchesne thinks it was composed about the year 538, chiefly because he understands

[1] Reprinted by Muratori in his *Liturgia romana vetus* (Venice, 1748). By far the best edition is that of C. L. Feltoe (*Sacramentarium Leonianum*, Cambridge, 1896).

[2] Feltoe's edition, 36-50. [3] *Ib.* 94-99. [4] *Ib.* 123-139.

[5] "I am inclined to think that in spite of its title 'Sacramentary' . . . it has never been a liturgical book in the strict sense, used for Mass, but rather a collection, a kind of anthology from which people took what they wanted according to the need of the moment." Cabrol: *Les Origines liturgiques*, p. 109. This is what every one says now.

[6] Examples of this will be found in *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. viii: *Liturgical books.*

[7] Cfr. *ib.*

one allusion [1] to refer to the raising of the siege of Rome by Vitiges in that year.[2] Probst refers the same allusion to Alaric's invasion in 402 and dates the book between 366 and 461.[3] Muratori thought it was composed under Felix III (483-492).[4] The latest theory is that of Buchwald, who thinks it was composed in the VIth or VIIth century by people who were trying to introduce the Roman rite into Gaul, and suggests Gregory of Tours († 594) as the author.[5] His idea does not seem to have found much favour.[6] Whenever it may have been compiled, there is no doubt that the Leonine book contains much very old matter and is invaluable as being our oldest source of the Roman rite. The fatal misfortune is that it has lost the Ordinary and Canon.

There is still more doubt about the *Gelasian Sacramentary.* This is a Roman book already Gallicanized. It exists in several manuscripts; the oldest version is that of a book written in the VIIth or early VIIIth century for use in the abbey of St. Denis at Paris. This is now in the Vatican library.[7] It was first published by Tomasi in his *Codices sacramentorum nongentis annis vetustiores* (Rome, 1680), then in vol. i of Muratori's *Liturgia romana vetus.* There are other versions of the same book in the codexes of St. Gallen and Rheinau.[8] These three versions, collated with others, form the basis of the standard edition of

[1] The Secret of Mass XVIII for June (Feltoe, p. 73).
[2] *Origines du Culte*, 129-137. [3] *Die ältesten röm. Sakram.* 56-61.
[4] *Liturgia rom. vetus*, diss. 27.
[5] Buchwald: *Das Sogen. Sacramentarium Leonianum* (Vienna, 1908); but see also his earlier view in the *Weidenauer Studien* (Weidenau, 1906) p. 50.
[6] Except with Adolf Struckmann in the *Theologische Revue* for June 20, 1909.
[7] MS. Reginæ, 316.
[8] Edited by Dom Martin Gerbert: *Monumenta veteris liturgiæ alemmanicæ*, vol. i (St. Blaise, 1777).

Wilson.[1] In no codex does the book bear the name of Pope Gelasius I (492-496); it is simply: "Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ". It consists of three parts, each bearing a not very accurate title. Book I (Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ ecclesiæ ordinis anni circuli) contains Masses for Sundays, feasts and fast-days (i.e. for all liturgical days) from Christmas eve to the eve of Pentecost. There are no special Masses for the season after Pentecost. This part also has the Ordination services, prayers for all the various rites of the Catechumenate, the blessing of the font and of the holy oils, the dedication of churches and reception of nuns.[2] Book II (Orationes et preces de natalitia sanctorum) contains the Propers of Saints (Collects, Secret, Preface, Postcommunion, Super populum) from St. Felix (Jan. 15) to St. Thomas (21 Dec.), the Commons of Saints and, at the end, five Masses: de Adventum Domini (sic), evidently not yet considered part of the Proprium temporis, and then Masses for the three winter Ember days.[3] Book III (Orationes et preces cum canone per dominicis diebus)[4] contains a great number of Masses headed simply: Item alia missa (for any Sunday), the Canon of the Mass, many votive Masses (the nuptial Mass, for travellers, for kings, in time of trouble and so on), Masses for the dead, blessings (of holy water, fruits, trees, etc.) and prayers for various special occasions.[5]

The question then arises, who composed this book and what use does it represent? It is clearly Roman with Gallican additions. For instance one of the prayers on Good Friday reads: "respice propitius ad romanum *sive francorum* benignus imperium".[6] Duchesne notes

[1] H. A. Wilson: *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894.
[2] Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 1-160.
[3] The other Ember days come in this part too, *ib.* pp. 161-223.
[4] The book is full of such ungrammatical forms.
[5] *Ib.* pp. 224-315. [6] *Ib.* p. 76, cfr. the preceding prayer.

there Gallican passages.[1] The book as it stands was out together for use in Gaul. The local Roman allusions (for instance the Stations) have been left out. This shows that at any rate, as we have it, it cannot be exactly the Sacramentary of Pope Gelasius. His name has been attached to it because of a very old tradition that ascribes to him the composition of a Sacramentary.[2] As this is the one that represents the use of the Roman Church before Adrian I, it is natural that it should have been supposed to be Gelasius' book. Indeed, it is not impossible that its core may be his. Meanwhile there are many other theories as to its origin. Duchesne thinks that it represents the Roman service books of the VIIth or VIIIth centuries (between the years 628 and 731), retouched in the Frankish Kingdom.[3] Dom S. Bäumer[4] and Mr. E. Bishop[5] maintain that it is much earlier and ascribe it to the VIth century. Buchwald[6] agrees with Duchesne as to its date and thinks that its compiler used the "Leonine" collection.

We know most about the *Gregorian Sacramentary.* In 791 Charles the Great[7] obtained from Pope Adrian I a Sacramentary.[8] It was the book as used at Rome in Adrian's time. This is proved by the fact that it contains Masses for the feasts known to be introduced at Rome after St. Gregory's time, including his own Feast (March 12).[9] Charles then introduced this book

[1] *Origines du Culte*, 125-128.

[2] Walafrid Strabo in the IXth cent.: *De rebus eccl.* xx; Joannes Diaconus: *Vita S. Gregorii*, ii, 17; Gennadius: *de vir. ill.* xcvi.

[3] *Op. cit.* 121-125.

[4] *Ueber das sogen. Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (Histor. Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft, 1893, 241-301).

[5] Dublin Review, 1894: *The earliest Roman Massbook*, 245-278.

[6] *Das sogen. Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 66.

[7] See pp. 177-178.

[8] See his letter in P.L. xcviii, 435.

[9] For a list of these feasts see R. Stapper: *Karls des Grossen römisches Messbuch* (Leipsig, 1908), pp. 38-41.

throughout his kingdom.[1] But many feasts, prayers, blessings and so on of the old Gallican rite were too popular to be suppressed. So in the Frankish kingdom Pope Adrian's book was copied with the addition of a *supplement* containing these. The first supplement was made by Alcuin. He distinguished it clearly from the Roman book by putting at its head a "præfatiuncula": "Hucusque præcedens sacramentorum libellus a b. papa Gregorio constat esse editus," etc.[2] The supplement supplies Masses for every Sunday, for non-Roman feasts, Votive Masses for each day in the week, the rites for minor orders, etc. At first everyone was bound to use the Roman part, but might choose what he liked from the supplement.[3] Then began a gradual process of assimilation. So we have five stages of the book:[4] 1. The pure Gregorian Sacramentary.[5] 2. With Alcuin's supplement. 3. With other supplements. 4. With the supplements partly fused with the Roman book. 5. The supplements completely fused. Of classes 2 and 3 (above) we have two MSS., the Codex Ottobonianus 313 of the early IXth cent., and the Codex Reginensis 337,

[1] There are many witnesses of this. So the Synod of Aachen in 802 (held in the Emperor's presence) orders that all priests shall be examined as to whether they know the *Ordo romanus* Hefele-Leclercq, III, 1122). Many other synods insist on it in the same way (Stapper: *op. cit.* 16-18.

[2] That Alcuin wrote this "præfatiuncula" is now generally admitted (see Stapper, p. 15). Already Micrologus knew this (c. 60, P.L. cli. 974). Pamelius' idea that it was written by a certain Abbot Grimold, is a mistake.

[3] So the "præfatiuncula" (Muratori: *Lit. rom. vetus*, ii, 278).

[4] This is Ebner's classification (*Quellen u. forschungen*, p. 373). Stapper (*op. cit.* 19) does not admit no. 1, and so makes four classes.

[5] As far as documents go, it appears that there is none representing this stage. Ebner thought he had found one (of the IXth cent.) in the Bibl. nat. at Paris. But E. Bishop has shown that it is not a case in point (so Stapper, p. 19, n. 2).

rather later (but before 867).[1] From these Muratori made what is still the best edition.[2] Since his time Dom A. Wilmart has discovered at Monte Cassino a MS. containing fragments of a sacramentary of the Gregorian type, written in the VIIth or VIIIth century.[3] This is now the oldest representative.[4]

The Roman book consists of four parts. Part I contains the *Ordo Missae.* Part II has the Ordinations. Part III has the Propers for the year. Part IV contains a collection of blessings, Votive Masses and prayers of all kinds.[5]

The supplements, eventually combined with this book, have played an important part in the development of our rite. There are a number of these. Generally speaking they contain Gallican elements and also some older Roman ones, which had come to Gaul before Charles the Great. With regard to their fusion into Adrian's book, among the many MSS. representing this is a class consisting really of the Gelasian Sacramentary remodelled on "Gregorian" lines with "Gregorian" prayers substituted for its own. Ebner calls these "Gregorianized Gelasiana".[6] Of this class is the *Codex s. Eligii* edited by Dom Hugh Ménard and reproduced in Migne.[7]

Among the documents containing the Roman Mass more or less combined with Gallican elements the most important are the Stowe Missal and the Leofric

[1] Both in the Vatican Library.

[2] *Liturgia romana vetus* (Venice, 1748), ii.

[3] *Un missel grégorien ancien* (in the *Revue bénédictine*, xxvi, 1909, pp. 281-300).

[4] It contains Masses for the Sundays after Pentecost, hitherto supposed to be later additions.

[5] Stapper (*op. cit.* 26-36) gives an exact index of these four parts.

[6] *Quellen u. Forschungen*, p. 376.

[7] P.L. lxxviii, 25-240.

Missal. The *Stowe Missal* is an Irish MS. written by two hands, one perhaps of the VIIIth and one of the Xth century.[1] Its Canon is headed "Canon dominicus papæ Gilasi"; but it is our "Gregorian" Canon with the addition of Irish saints.[2] It contains a "missa quotidiana" and prayers for three other Masses. The *Leofric Missal* is a Gregorian sacramentary with English interpolations, written at Exeter in the Xth century.[3]

The Gallican supplements to the Gregorian book, when they had become incorporated with it, eventually found their way back to Rome and so formed our present missal (see pp. 182-184).

These three Sacramentaries, the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian, are the most important documents for the origin of the Roman rite. There are, however, also a number of others, in some cases fragments, which add something to our knowledge. The so-called *Missale Francorum* contains fragments of the ordination service, the blessing of nuns and widows, the consecration of altars and eleven Roman Masses. It was written in the Frankish kingdom about the end of the seventh century and represents the earlier Roman influence, before Charles the Great, like the Gelasian book. The manuscript is now in the Vatican library.[4]

[1] So Duchesne: *Origines* (Ed. 2) p. 148. Dom. S. Bäumer places them earlier, VIIth and VIIIth cent. (*Zcitschr. für Kath. Theol.* xvi, 1892, 459).

[2] For the Stowe Missal see Duchesne and Bäumer (*loc. cit.*), L. Gougaud: *Celtiques* (*Liturgies*) in the *Dict. d'Arch.* ii, 2973-2975. The best edition is G. F. Warner: *The Stowe Missal* (Henry Bradshaw Soc., 1906). Bishop John Wordsworth thinks that it may be substantially of the early VIIth cent. (*Ministry of Grace*, London, 1901, p. 92).

[3] Warren: *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883).

[4] Edited by Tomasi in his *Codices Sacramentorum* (Rome, 1680), Mabillon: *Liturgia gallicana* (Paris, 1685; reprinted in P.L. lxxii, 317-340).

The *Ravenna roll*[1] is a fragment containing forty prayers in preparation for Christmas, all of a Roman type. It was drawn up for use at Ravenna at an uncertain date (VIth to XIth century). One of these prayers recurs in the Leonine and Gregorian Sacramentaries.[2] Abbot Cabrol thinks that the prayers may have been collected by St. Peter Chrysologus († c. 450).[3]

Among the sources for the early Roman rite the *Ordines Romani* have an important place. These are directories telling the various people who took part in the Mass their respective functions, books of rubrics only, like the modern *Cærimoniale Episcoporum.* Mabillon collected and published sixteen of these ordines in his *Musaeum Italicum* (Paris, 1689) vol. ii.[4] They are of various dates, from the VIIIth to the XVth century, each giving directions for Mass or some other function at the time it was written. The first, which is the most important, was probably drawn up in the reign of Pope Stephen III (768-772), but is founded on an earlier similar document, perhaps of the VIth cent.[5] Since Mabillon's time other ordines have been found. Of these Mgr. Duchesne has published one found in a MS. of the Church of St. Amandus at Pevèle or Puelle in the old diocese of Tournai.[6] It was written in the VIIIth or IXth century.[7]

There are choir-books (antiphonaries, graduals, etc.) and lectionaries of the Roman rite since about the VIIth or VIIIth century. These are less important

[1] Published by Ceriani: *Il rotolo opistografo del principe A.P. di Savoia* (Milan, 1883).

[2] Cfr. Duchesne, *op. cit.* 137-138.

[3] *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct., 1906.

[4] Reprinted in P.L. lxxviii, 937-1372.

[5] Edited by E. G. C. Atchley: *Ordo romanus primus* (London, Moring, 1905).

[6] *Origines du Culte* (pp. 440-465).

[7] For its date see *ib.* pp. 6-7, and Probst: *Die ältesten römischen Sacramentarien*, p. 395.

than the sacramentaries.[1] Then during the middle ages, other books were added to these (hymnaries, libri troponarii and so on), and finally they were rearranged in the missals and breviaries that we know.[2]

§ 3. Latin as the liturgical language.

In the first period the liturgical language at Rome was Greek. Greek was spoken by the Roman Christians (as by those of all centres—Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, etc.) for at least the first two centuries. Clement of Rome writes in Greek; the earliest Catacomb inscriptions are Greek. There was no idea of a special liturgical language at that time; people said their prayers in the vulgar tongue. Latin was apparently first used by Christians in Africa. Pope Victor I (190-202), who was an African, is generally quoted as the first Roman to use it.[3] Novatian (c. 251) writes in Latin; since about the third century this becomes the usual and then the only language spoken by Christians at Rome. When it replaced Greek in Church is disputed. Kattenbusch dates it as the liturgical language from the second half of the third century,[4] Watterich,[5] Probst[6] and Rietschel[7] think that Greek was used till the end of the fourth century. In any case the process was a gradual one. Both languages must have been used side by side during a fairly long period of transi-

[1] See *Liturgical Books* in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

[2] For the compilation of the *Missale plenarium* see below pp. 189-190.

[3] Supposing that he is the author of the treatise *de Aleatoribus*, otherwise attributed to St. Cyprian. Cfr. Harnack in *Texte u. Untersuchungen* v. 1; against him Bardenhewer: *Gesch. der altkirchlichen Litteratur* (Freiburg, 1903) ii, 446-447.

[4] *Das apostolische Symbol* (Leipzig, 1900) ii, 331, n. 108.

[5] *Konsekrationsmoment*, 131, seq.

[6] *Abendländische Messe*, 5, seq.

[7] *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i, 337-338. C. P. Caspari produces evidence of liturgical Greek at Rome as late as the end of the third century (*Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols*, Christiania, 1879, iii, 267-466).

tion. A certain Marius Victorinus Africanus, writing about 360 in Latin, still quotes a liturgical prayer in Greek.[1] The Bible existed only in the Greek Septuagint for some time.[2] The lessons were read in Greek at Rome, at any rate on some days, till the VIIIth century;[3] some psalms were sung in Greek at the same time.[4] Amalarius of Metz[5] († c. 857) and Pseudo-Alcuin[6] still mention Greek forms. The creed at baptism may be said in either Greek or Latin, at the convert's discretion, according to the Gelasian Sacramentary.[7] But our present Greek fragments[8] are later interpolations.

A change of language does not involve a change of rite; though it may be the occasion for modifications. Novatian's list of benefits in Latin (supposed to be an allusion to the liturgical Thanksgiving) corresponds well enough with similar Greek lists in Clement of Rome, etc.[9] It is quite possible merely to translate the same forms into another language, as the Byzantine rite has been translated into a great number without change. On the other hand, no doubt the genius of the Latin language eventually affected the Roman rite. Latin is naturally terse, austere, compared with the rhetorical abundance of Greek. It would be a natural tendency of Latin to curtail redundant phrases. And this terseness and austere simplicity are a noticeable mark of the Roman Mass. We shall see that some writers think that the change

[1] Probst, *loc. cit.* p. 5.

[2] The *Itala* does not appear for certain till the IVth century; though there were many Latin versions in Africa since the IInd or IIIrd centuries.

[3] The first Roman Ordo says the lessons on Holy Saturday are read first in Greek, then in Latin (M.P.L. lxxviii, 955).

[4] *Ib.* 966, 967, 968.

[5] P.L. cv, 1073. [6] Caspari, *op. cit.* 466 seq

[7] Ed. Wilson, 53-55.

[8] Agios o Theos, Kyrie eleison (pp. 230-231), etc.

[9] See p. 64.

of language was the actual occasion at which the Canon was recast.[1]

§ 4. First traces of the Roman Mass.

As we shall see,[2] the difficulties of this question concern the Canon. In the Gelasian Sacramentary we have our Canon complete, as it is in the present Missal. Before that we find some fragments and allusions to it. These are the documents on which every attempted reconstruction of its history is based.

The earliest allusion appears to be that of the author of a work : *Quæstiones veteris et novi testamenti*.[3] He is a Roman, contemporary of St. Damasus (366-384). He defends the astonishing theory that Melkisedek was the Holy Ghost. While explaining that nevertheless Melkisedek's priesthood is less exalted than that of Christ he writes : "Similiter et Spiritus sanctus quasi antistes sacerdos appellatus est excelsi Dei, non summus, sicut nostri in oblatione præsumunt".[4] We have then evidence that at Rome in the second half of the IVth century the celebrant at Mass spoke of Melkisedek as "summus sacerdos". It seems clearly an allusion to the words "summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech" in the Canon. But the allusion tells us nothing about the order, nor the moment at which these words occurred.

The earliest fragment of any length is also probably of the fourth century. It is the famous quotation in the treatise *de Sacramentis*.[5] This is the most important early witness for our Canon ; it is quoted and discussed by everyone who writes on the subject. The little work *de Sacramentis*[6] consists of six books

[1] See p. 170. [2] p. 139. [3] P.L. xxxv, 2213-2416.
[4] *Ib.* 2329. [5] P.L. xvi, 417-462.
[6] Also printed in Rauschen : *Florilegium patristicum*, vii (Monumenta Eucharistica), Bonn, 1909, pp. 94-131.

(i.e. sermons) about Baptism, Confirmation and the Holy Eucharist[1] addressed to the neophytes, in Easter week. It is modelled on St. Ambrose: *de Mysteriis*. The author, date and place of this work are much discussed. It used to be attributed to St. Ambrose himself († 397), an opinion which still has distinguished defenders.[2] The Benedictines of St. Maur in their edition of St. Ambrose thought this attribution doubtful. Tillemont,[3] Schanz[4] and Schermann[5] think it was written by St. Maximus of Turin (c. 451-465); Bardenhewer leaves the author uncertain and dates it as Vth or VIth century.[6]

There seems a good case for attributing it to an Italian city, not Rome, at about the end of the IVth or beginning of the Vth century. The author implies that he is not Roman by announcing that his church in all things follows the Roman example: "cuius (sc. ecclesiæ romanæ) typum in omnibus sequimur et formam".[7] If we maintain the view that Milan used the Gallican rite this argues that he was not Milanese either. In spite of his statement, there is some reason to doubt whether in every point (E. gr. the order of nis Canon) he exactly follows Rome.[8]

The importance of the text justifies our printing it again. In iv, 4, speaking of the Eucharist, the author gives us incidentally most valuable information about

[1] The last part (v, 4-vi, 5) is chiefly about the Pater noster and prayer in general.

[2] So Probst (*Liturg. des iv Jahrh.* 232-239), Morin (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1894, 339 *seq.*) who think it consists of notes taken from his sermons.

[3] *Mémoires pour servir à l'hist. éccl.* (Paris, 1712) xvi, 34.

[4] *Die Lehre von den h. Sakramenten* (Freiburg i. Br. 1893), 193.

[5] *Römische Quartalschrift* 1903, 254 *seq.*

[6] *Patrologie* (Freiburg, 1894) 407.

[7] *de Sacr.* iii, 5. Duchesne thinks the work was written about the year 400 at a city (perhaps Ravenna) where the Roman and Milanese rites were combined (*Origines du Culte*, 169).

[8] See pp. 131, etc.

the prayers said at Mass. We have first an allusion to the Intercession:

"Nam reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, in superioribus a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris; ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum" (iv, 4, § 14).[1] From this we see that there was at that time an Intercession prayer before the consecration but following a prayer of praise ("laudes Deo deferuntur"—the beginning of the preface?). We also see the idea that our Lord's own words (of Institution) consecrate, an important point with regard to the Roman Epiklesis.[2] Later our author quotes a great part of the Eucharistic prayer (Canon):

(iv, 5, § 21.) "Vis scire quia verbis cælestibus consecratur? Accipe quæ sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in caelum ad te, sancte pater omnipotens æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite et edite ex hoc omnes; hoc est enim corpus meum quod pro multis confringetur. § 22. Similiter etiam calicem postquam cenatum est, pridie quam pateretur, accepit, respexit in cælum ad te, sancte pater omnipotens æterne Deus; gratias agens benedixit, apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sanguis meus." Then follows an explanation of these words, in which

[1] This text is familiar because it forms part of the lessons of the second nocturn on Wed. in the octave of Corpus Christi.

[2] Below pp. 406-407.

we need only notice the formula for Communion: "Dicit tibi sacerdos: Corpus Christi et tu dicis Amen, hoc est, verum" (§ 25). Another fragment of the Canon follows in Chap. 6.

(iv, 6, § 27.) "Et sacerdos dicit: Ergo memores gloriosissimæ eius passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis et in cælum adscensionis offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitæ æternæ; et petimus et precamur ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech."

In this text we note for the present that it obviously consists of part of our Canon with slight verbal differences; but that the order of the parts is not the same as ours. In the first part we have our *Quam oblationem* prayer, but not in a relative form ("fac nobis hanc oblationem"). The epithet "benedictam" is wanting before "adscriptam". We note also the form "quod figura est corporis et sanguinis," which is like the Egyptian form. So Sarapion in his prayer has: "we have offered to thee this bread, the likeness (ὁμοίωμα) of the body of the Only begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy body" (12) and again: "We have offered to thee the cup, the likeness of the blood," etc. (14).[1]

The form: "pridie quam pateretur" is the typical Western expression, as opposed to the usual Eastern "in the night in which he was betrayed". It is evidently considered important; it occurs again, awkwardly, in the consecration of the wine. The second part (iv, 6, § 27) consists of our Anamnesis (*Unde et*

[1] Ed. Funk, *Didascalia*, ii, 175; cfr. also Tertullian: *adv. Marc.* iv, 40 (P.L. ii, 460, c.).

memores) with several differences. To this is joined ("et petimus et precamur") most of the next prayer (*Supra quæ*), but with the clause about the high altar and the angels (in the plural here), which now forms the beginning of *Supplices te rogamus*, inserted before the mention of Abel, Abraham and Melkisedek.[1]

In the fifth century *St. Innocent I* (401-417) wrote a letter to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium (Gubbio) in Umbria.[2] Decentius had written to consult the Pope about certain observances at Eugubium.[3] In this answer (416) Innocent insists on the necessity of conforming to Rome throughout the West;[4] then tells Decentius the Roman custom in the cases he has mentioned. First about the Kiss of Peace: "You say therefore that some priests give the Peace to the people or to each other before the mysteries are consecrated, whereas the Peace is certainly to be given after all those things which I may not describe (the disciplina arcani forbids his describing the consecration); for by it the people show that they consent to all that has been celebrated in the mysteries," etc.[5] This is the first mention we know of the present place of the Roman Pax after the consecration; whereas in all other rites it occurs at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Faithful. It was perhaps not long before the time of Innocent that its place at Rome was altered.[6]

[1] The Lord's prayer appears to be said twice according to *de Sacr.*, once by the celebrant at the end of the Canon (v, 4, § 24; vi, 5, § 24), once by each communicant after Communion (v, 4, § 18-19; cfr. v, 3, § 14).

[2] Innoc. I. Ep. 25, *ad Decentium;* P.L. xx, 551-561.

[3] § 3, *ib.* 552-553.

[4] § 1-2, *ib.* 551. The point is remarkable since certainly at that time most Western Churches did not use the Roman rite. Innocent desired what was not accomplished for many centuries.

[5] § 4, *ib.* 553.

[6] Justin Martyr's Kiss of Peace came before the Eucharistic prayer (I Apol. lxv, 2; see above, p. 18).

Then follows an important statement about the reading of the diptychs, and so of the place of the Intercession. Decentius was accustomed to place this before the Consecration form, as does *de Sacramentis*.[1] But Innocent appears to say it should come after: "Concerning the recital of the names before the priest makes the Prayer[2] and presents the offerings of those whose names are said, your own wisdom will show you how superfluous this is, namely that you should mention the name of him whose offering you have not yet made to God, whereas to him nothing is unknown. So first the offerings should be made and then those whose offerings they are should be named; they should be named during the holy mysteries, not in the part that comes before, so that we may open the way for the prayers that follow by the mysteries themselves."[3] As the present involved state of the Roman Intercession is one of the chief problems of the Mass this statement is of great importance. We conclude that, whereas *de Sacramentis* places the Intercession before the Consecration, Innocent places it afterwards.[4]

Bonifice I (418-422) and Celestine I (422-432) both refer to the Intercession, in which they prayed for the Emperor. Boniface says that it occurs "inter ipsa mysteria,"[5] Celestine that it comes "oblatis sacrificiis".[6]

In the Vth century Arnobius the younger (c. 460) mentions the Birth of our Lord as named in the Anam-

[1] Above p. 130.

[2] *Prex*, very commonly used for the Preface or Canon.

[3] § 5. *Ib.* 553-554.

[4] See however Funk's opinion, below p. 165. The other points Innocent mentions, though of great interest, concern matters which do not affect our enquiry—baptism, confirmation, the fast on Saturday and so on.

[5] *Ep. ad Honorium*, Hardouin, i, 1237.

[6] *Ep. ad Theodosium*, ii; P.L. l, 544.

nesis.[1] He was a Gaul, so that his witness for Rome is doubtful;[2] however the Nativity was often included in the Roman Anamnesis. As late as the XIth century Micrologus (Bernold of Constance) refers to this practice and condemns it.[3] The *Breviarium in Psalmos* attributed to St. Jerome quotes part of our *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* prayer: "Ad capescendam futuram beatitudinem cum electis eius, in quorum nos consortium, non meritorum inspector sed veniæ largitor, admittat Christus Dominus noster. Amen."[4] But the work is full of later additions, of which this is probably one.[5] St. Leo I (440-461) mentions the reading of the diptychs at Rome,[6] as do many Popes; but his allusion tells us nothing special about them. Pope Vigilius (537-555), writing to Profuturus Bishop of Braga, in 538, speaks of the Roman Canon as unchangeable: We make no difference in the order of prayers at the celebration of Mass for any time or feast, but we always consecrate the gifts offered to God in the same way ("semper eodem tenore"). But when we keep the feasts of Easter, or the Ascension of the Lord and Pentecost and the Epiphany, or of the Saints of God, we add special clauses suitable to the day ("singula capitula diebus apta"), by which we make commemoration of the holy feast or of those whose anniversaries we keep; and we continue the rest in the usual order. Wherefore we say the text of the Canon itself ("ipsius canonicæ precis textum") according to the form which by God's mercy we have received from apostolic tradition".[7] This describes very well the unchanging Roman Canon, as we know it, and certain modifications in

[1] *Comment. in Psalmos*, P.L. liii, 497. See G. Morin, O.S.B., *L'anamnèse de la messe romaine dans la première moitié du Ve. siècle* in the *Revue Bénédictine*, xxiv (1907), pp. 404-407.

[2] Dom G. Morin says he lived at Rome.

[3] P.L. cli, 985.

[4] P.L. xxvi, 1094.

[5] Cfr. Morin in the *Anecdota Maredsolana*, i, 3 and iii, 2.

[6] Ep. 70. P.L. liv, 914.

[7] *Ep. ad Profuturum;* P.L. lxix, 18.

other parts of the Mass, with perhaps the slight additions to the *Communicantes* for various occasions. The Pope opposes this to the complete variability according to the Calendar of the Spanish and Gallican Eucharistic prayers.

There is an old and constant tradition that *St. Gregory* I (590-604) modified the Canon and was the last to touch it.[1] A letter by him to John, Bishop of Syracuse,[2] defends the Roman Church from having copied Constantinople in certain points of ritual. They are that Alleluia is sung outside of Paschal time, that subdeacons "go unclad" ("spoliatos procedere," in albs without tunicles),[3] that Kyrie eleison is sung, that the Lord's prayer is sung immediately after the "prex" (Canon), before the Communion. Gregory explains the differences between Rome and Constantinople in these points and says that he has himself put the Lord's prayer in that place. His biographer, John the Deacon, ascribes the Roman custom in all four points to him.[4] John also says that Gregory shortened, modified and added to the Gelasian book.[5] This, the alteration of the place of the Pater noster and the addition of the final clause to the *Hanc igitur* mentioned in the Liber Pontificalis (below, p. 137) and also by John the Deacon [6] are the chief changes that we can trace to St. Gregory with certainty.[7]

We may notice here certain statements about the Mass in the *Liber Pontificalis*, although the historical

[1] See above, p 122, and below, p. 172.

[2] Greg. I Epist. ix (Ind. 11) 12, P.L. lxxvii, 955-958.

[3] See J. Braun, S.J.: *Die liturgische Gewandung in Occident u. Orient* (Freiburg i. Br. 1907), p. 283.

[4] Ioh. Diac: *Vita S. Greg. M.* ii, 20. P.L. lxxv, 94. Probst defends the correctness of this statement in *Die ältesten röm. Sacram.* pp. 301-303.

[5] *Ib.* ii, 17 (P.L. lxxv, 94). [6] *Ib.*

[7] For the Alleluia see below, p. 268, Kyrie eleison, p. 234, Pater noster, p. 362, Hanc igitur, pp. 137.

value of the earlier ones is not to be taken very seriously. We are told that Pope Alexander I (c. 109-119) added the mention of our Lord's passion to the Mass,[1] presumably in the *Unde et memores*. Buchwald thinks this means the form "qui pridie quam pateretur," introduced at Rome, and through Rome in all Western rites, instead of the usual Eastern: "in the night in which he was betrayed".[2] The Eastern form has the basis of Scripture (1 Cor. xi, 23), why the Roman expression? He answers that it was in order to include the passion among the things for which we thank God in the Eucharist prayer. At first (as in 1 Clem. ad Cor. 33, 34) only the benefits of creation were named; but Justin Martyr already uses what seems to be a liturgical formula about the passion when he speaks of the Eucharist (Dialogue 41: διὰ τοῦ παθητοῦ γενομένου· 75: δι' οὓς καὶ παθητὸς γέγονε). The form became so important that in the Canon of *de Sacramentis* it is inserted, most awkwardly, in the consecration of the wine (above p. 130). Whether really Alexander I made this addition or change is another matter. Buchwald commits himself only to "one of the Popes of the second century".[3] The *Liber Pontificalis* further informs us that Xystus (Sixtus) I (c. 119-128) ordered that "intra actionem" the people should sing "the hymn Sanctus sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, and the rest".[4] This is interesting, as showing that when that notice was written the Preface was still considered part of the Canon; but Clement I had already spoken of the people singing the Sanctus (1 Cor. xxxiv, 6-7). The next notice about St. Leo I (440-461) probably has more basis: "He ordered that

[1] "Hic passionem Domini miscuit in prædictione sacerdotum quando missæ celebrantur." *Lib. Pont.* ed. Duchesne, Paris, 1886, i, 127.

[2] See above p. 99.

[3] Buchwald: *die Epiklese*, pp. 34, 35, note 1.

[4] Ed. Duchesne, i, 128.

in the Canon ('intra actionem sacrificii') should be said: sanctum sacrificium, and the rest".[1] This means the words "sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam" at the end of the prayer *Supra quæ*. Mgr. Duchesne thinks they were directed against the Manichees.[2] Two more details in the Lib. Pont. are contemporary evidence and of great importance. St. Gregory I (540-604) "added to the text of the Canon: diesque nostros in tua pace dispone, and the rest,"[3] that is the second half of the much-discussed *Hanc igitur* prayer.[4] We may accept the last statement unreservedly, namely that Pope Sergius I (687-701) "ordered that at the time of the breaking of the Lord's body Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis should be sung by clergy and people".[5] But the notice about Sergius I brings us to a period later than the one we now consider.

Lastly we have a quotation of the words "pro ecclesia quam adunare, regere, custodire digneris" (in the *Te igitur*) by Pope Vigilius (537-555).[6]

In the time before the Leonine Sacramentary, then, we have only these scattered notices and allusions (besides the fragment of the *de Sacramentis*) from which to build up theories about the formation of our Canon. The Leonine book, although its Canon is lost, supposes our text, though apparently not in the order in which we have it. Several of its masses contain the special forms of the *Communicantes* prayer,[7] a great number have proper Prefaces formed on the

[1] Ed. Duchesne, i, 239. [2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.* 312, St. Bede says the same thing, *Hist. Eccl.* ii, 1. (P.L. xcv, 80.)

[4] See pp. 155, 160-161.

[5] Ed. Duchesne, i, 376. These judgments as to the value of the statements are those of M. Lejay (*Revue d'hist. et de litt. relig.* ii, 183) and Abbot Cabrol (*Dictionnaire d'archéologie*, ii, 1853).

[6] *Ep. ad Iustinianum*, P.L. lxix, 22.

[7] Ed. Feltoe, pp. 21, 22, 25, 27.

model we know; there are ten special *Hanc oblationem* prayers[1] and one special *Quam oblationem*.[2] All these are to be inserted in their places in the Canon, instead of the normal forms, which are presumably ours.

Buchwald, who dates the book as fourth century, therefore supposes that at that time our Canon was used at Rome.[3] But he has not noticed that its order was not the same as ours. In a Mass for Pentecost for the newly baptized the *Hanc igitur* comes before the *Communicantes*.[4] This is an important point which certainly helps Drews' theory (below, pp. 159-163). Sure ground, on which we find our Canon as we have it, is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary.[5] From the Gelasian book on, the history of the Roman Mass is comparatively easy. It is for the earlier history, its origin, that there are many conjectures and, so far, no absolute certainty.

§ 5. Conjectured reconstructions of the old Mass.

Supposing then that our present Mass, and especially its Canon, have been recast from an older arrangement, we have to consider the various theories that have been suggested as to what the older order was, why and when it was changed. We may accept as admitted on all sides that there has been such a recasting.[6] It is in the proposed reconstructions and as to the date of the recasting that theories differ.

These theories are based partly on internal reasons,

[1] *Ib.* 24, 36, 119, 123, 130, 141, 145, 147, 148. [2] P. 123.
[3] *Die Epiklese*, 50. [4] Ed. Feltoe, 24, 25.
[5] Ed. Wilson, 234-236.
[6] Duchesne: "At bottom, I think that in the Roman Canon many parts are not in their primitive place" (*Rev. d'Hist. et de Litt. relig.* Jan. 1909, p. 45).

the greater fitness of certain elements of the Canon when they are rearranged in what seems a more natural order; partly on external reasons, comparison with other rites in which parallel passages, often corresponding exactly, are found in a different order. Neither argument can effect more than greater or less probability. Internal reasons, greater suitability and so on, are to a great extent subjective. Not everyone will be convinced by what seems more suitable to one person. And as for the parallel phrases in other liturgies we are embarrassed by their abundance. Parallels can be found almost everywhere. One author will draw up a list of most striking parallels between Rome and Jerusalem and on the strength of them will reconstruct our Canon on the lines of the liturgy of St. James. It seems convincing, till one finds that another produces no less obvious resemblances with Alexandria, Gaul, Spain and makes an equally ingenious rearrangement according to their order.

It is the Canon that is the great question. The Mass of the Catechumens offers less difficulty. The disappearance of the old litanies (now represented by the Kyrie eleison)[1], the Collects,[2] the always uncertain number of lessons,[3] the absence of a dismissal of the Catechumens[4] and then the typical Roman Offertory[5] —all these can be fairly easily accounted for.

It seems certain that one reason, perhaps the chief, for the rearrangement of our Canon was the omission (apparently for dogmatic reasons) of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost (Epiklesis). Its absence in the Roman Mass is unique. All Eastern rites have an Epiklesis, the Gallican Mass had one.[6] The origin of our Canon

[1] See below pp. 230-239. [2] Pp. 244-253. [3] Pp. 254-257.
[4] P. 291. [5] P. 297.
[6] Milan lost its Epiklesis when it adopted the Roman Canon. The Mozarabic rite still has traces of an Epiklesis. For the question of the Epiklesis in general see pp. 402-407.

is still the burning question among liturgical students. Leaving aside antiquated and exploded theories, we notice the systems of Bunsen, Probst, Bickell, Cagin, W. C. Bishop, Baumstark, Buchwald, Drews, Cabrol.

§ 6. Bunsen's theory.

Bunsen[1] was one of the first of the moderns to suggest a reconstruction of the Canon. The mediæval liturgists did not discuss the question; they accepted the sacred text as they knew it, generally ascribed it as it stands to St. Peter, and interpreted it mystically and theologically. So also Gihr, Thalhofer and the older school were content to explain additions or changes here and there, chiefly according to the notices of the *Liber Pontificalis;* they did not enquire into the origin of the whole Canon.

Bunsen's theory is ingenious and may contain elements of truth. His chief point is that our Canon is a fusion of two sets of prayers, those of the celebrant and those originally said by the deacon. In the Eastern rites constantly the celebrant says one set of prayers while the deacon chants aloud other prayers with the people.[2] He thought that this was once the case at Rome too. Further our Canon is the result of a period of selection and abbreviation (at the time of Gregory I), in which only parts of much longer prayers were kept and rearranged without much order. The *Supplices te rogamus* is an attenuated Epiklesis, probably added by Leo I. Gregory I composed the second part of the *Hanc igitur* and separated that prayer from the *Quam oblationem.* He also wrote the preface and

[1] Baron Christian Bunsen, Prussian Ambassador at London from 1841-1854 († 1860).

[2] Originally the celebrant paused between his prayers while the deacon said his part. The simultaneous recital is a later development for the sake of shortening the service, as in many cases in our Mass.

embolism of the Lord's Prayer when he added it to the Canon. So the Canon of St. Gregory was thus: The celebrant began *Te igitur* as now. When he came to the Pope's name he paused while the deacon read the diptychs of the living (*Memento Domine*). The celebrant continued: *Communicantes, Hanc igitur, Quam oblationem, Qui pridie, Unde et memores, Supra quæ, Supplices.* The deacon read the diptychs of the dead (*Memento*), *Nobis quoque, Per quem hæc omnia.* The celebrant finished with the *Pater noster*, its embolism (*Libera nos*) and the Pax.[1]

Bunsen's idea of restoring diakonika is interesting; their absence at Rome is certainly remarkable. Also one can understand that the fusion of two separate sets of prayers would produce a want of logical order, such as we see in our Canon. But for the rest later studies have gone far beyond his general suggestions and in many cases have shown them to be mistaken. His attribution to the deacon of the *Per quem hæc omnia* prayer especially is abandoned by everyone. Nor is there any evidence for selecting the particular diakonika he proposes.

§ 7. Probst and Bickell.

The ideas of both these writers have already been in great part explained.[2] To Probst belongs the credit of having first established what is now admitted to some extent by many liturgists, what has become the basis of several further theories, namely that the first source of the Roman rite must be sought by comparing the liturgy of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions. He maintains that till the middle of the fourth century there was substantially one liturgy, uniform in arrangement and outline every-

[1] Bunsen: *Analecta antenicæna* (1854), Vol. III.
[2] Probst, pp. 62-63; Bickell, pp. 70-72.

where; this he calls "una, sancta, catholica et apostolica liturgia," it was practically the one still extant in the Apost. Const.[1] In the fourth century this liturgy was reformed differently in different places. The various reforms produced the liturgies we know. The reason of the reform was partly the conversion of many pagans who, less zealous than the earlier Christians, demanded shorter services; and partly the Arian troubles, which made a clearer emphasis of faith in the Trinity (according to the Nicene creed) desirable. Other causes were the gradual disappearance of the Catechumenate and the system of Penance, and in the West the influence of the changing Calendar.[2] It was St. Damasus (366-384) who radically changed the Roman liturgy. Till then at Rome, as in the East, the Eucharistic service had been unaffected by the season or feast on which it was celebrated. Damasus introduced variable collects, secrets, prefaces, postcommunions, even modifications of the Canon itself (*Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*), so as to express the ideas of the various days in these. This reform separated the Preface from the rest of the Canon. The preface was no longer merely the beginning of the great Eucharistic prayer; it became a separate prayer, in which the Eucharistic idea was lost in the other idea of commemorating the feast. So it no longer led straight on to the memory of the last supper and the words of institution. The vacant space between the Preface (with its Sanctus) and the account of the Last Supper was then filled by the diptychs of the living; these naturally brought with them the prayers for the gifts of the faithful (*Te igitur*, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem*).[3]

[1] *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Part 3, Chap i, pp. 319-354.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 354-377.

[3] This is in outline the system defended at great length in his works: *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts u deren Reform*, *Die*

Later writers have studied the question further and have made further suggestions; the idea that Damasus made the change is disputed, but among what one may perhaps call the German School of liturgists Probst's main ideas have now again come very much to the fore, so much so that Mr. Edmund Bishop, who disapproves of this School, describes it as "developing, perfecting, and applying the ideas of the late Prelate Probst".[1]

Dr. Bickell's[2] view we have seen to be that the Canon is based on the Jewish Passover ritual.[3] He too considers the liturgy of Apost. Const. to be the connecting link; so that his system concerns rather the derivation of that rite than of ours. He adds to Probst's position the further idea that Apost. Const. (that is the original primitive use) is based on the Passover service, and does not discuss how the Roman Mass evolved out of the primitive use. There is then nothing to add here to what has been said above, except that in comparing the Christian and Jewish services the Christian side must be represented not by our present Roman Mass but by the Apost. Const. Our Mass is a later form, derived apparently from that, or from a parallel rite of the same construction. In this further derivation there is no new Jewish influence. If our Mass retains any elements of the Passover service it can be only in what it retains of the older rite; that question, however one may decide it, does not affect what we now are considering, the derivation of the Roman rite from earlier Christian elements.[4]

abenländische Messe, Die ältesten römischen Sacramentarien u. Ordines.

[1] In Connolly: *Homilies of Narsai*, p. 132, n. 1.

[2] Gustav Bickell, Prof. of Semitic Languages at Vienna from 1892-1908 († 15 Jan. 1908).

[3] Above pp. 71-72.

[4] Bickell does however compare Rome and Apost. Const. The two arranged in parallel columns according to his view will be found drawn

§ 8. Dom Cagin.

Dom Paul Cagin, O.S.B.[1] in the fifth volume of the Solesmes *Paléographie musicale* has defended a view that reverses our idea of the relation between the Roman and Gallican rites. He admits that the various non-Roman Western rites (Spanish, Milanese, British, Gallican etc.) are variants of one type,[2] but he considers that this rite is nothing but the old Roman rite before it was modified.[3] On this basis, using Gallican documents for comparison, Dom Cagin proposes this reconstruction of the Roman Canon before Innocent I: The *Memento vivorum* and *Communicantes*, the *Memento defunctorum* and *Nobis quoque* originally came before the Preface. They correspond to the Gallican diptychs at that place, after the procession that brought the oblata to the altar.[4] The kiss of peace followed, then came the Secrets, Preface, Sanctus. The *Te igitur* was once either a "Collectio post nomina," following the diptychs before the preface, or more probably, one form of the Epiklesis[5] corresponding to the Gallican *Post pridie* and so following the words of Institution. The group *Hanc igitur, Quam oblationem, Qui pridie* followed the Sanctus; it corresponds to the Gallican *Post Sanctus.*[6] The next group of prayers consists of the *Unde et memores, Supra quæ, Supplices te rogamus.* Following the 'Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum' at the end of the *Supplices* comes at once "Per quem hæc omnia". All this group corresponds to the Gallican *Post pridie* or *Post*

up in Cabrol: *Les Origines Liturgiques*, pp. 343-347. There is little to notice specially here.

[1] At Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight. He was to a great extent anticipated by Fr. H. Lucas, S.J. in the *Dublin Review*, 1893, pp. 564-588 and 1894, pp. 112-131.

[2] This point may now be considered established.

[3] This has been discussed above p. 99. Probst and others already defended this view, see p. 99, n. 2.

[4] Cfr. e. gr. Duchesne: *Origines du Culte*, pp. 199-201.

[5] This agrees with Buchwald; see p. 152.

[6] Duchesne; *op cit.* 205.

secreta.[1] The *Per quem hæc omnia* prayer was originally the prayer of the fraction, made at that point, which closed the Canon. Abbot Cabrol, defending this view, points out that every other rite has a special prayer for the fraction. There is now none in the Roman Mass, an anomaly he explains by suggesting that it has been separated from its accompanying prayer by the *Pater noster* which St. Gregory I inserted before it. He also points out the resemblance between the doxology of the *Per quem hæc omnia* prayer and the prayer of the fraction in the Didache (ix, 4).[2] Lastly, before St. Gregory, the *Pater noster* and its embolism (*Libera nos quæsumus*) followed, outside the Canon.[3] In this way, Dom Cagin maintains, the prayers of our Canon follow one another in a logical order, which corresponds not only to that of the Gallican rite, but also to the various Eastern liturgies. Only the *Post pridie* group contains ideas that are peculiar to the Western rites. He brings forward the Missal of Bobbio to confirm his thesis. In this there are two documents, of which the older one contains Masses of the Vth century, all having the diptychs and kiss of peace before the Preface.[4]

Dom Cagin's theory has found favour especially among his brethren of Farnborough. Abbot Cabrol has resumed and defended it in his *Origines liturgiques*.[5] On the other hand Mgr. Duchesne criticized it severely in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*.[6] In conclusion one may perhaps say that in spite of Dom Cagin's ingenious comparison there still remain more powerful arguments against the Roman origin of

[1] Duchesne, *ib*. 207-208. [2] *Les Origines liturgiques*, 362, n. 3.
[3] So the Gallican rite, Duchesne, *op. cit*. 211.
[4] This view is now explained at great length in Cagin: *L'Eucharistia* (Desclée et Cie, 1912).
[5] Appendix I, pp. 352-372. [6] 1900, pp. 31 seq.

the Gallican Mass, which is the basis of his whole position.

§ 9. W. C. Bishop.

Mr. W. C. Bishop[1] in the *Church Quarterly Review*[2] has proposed a new contribution towards the solution of the problem. From the Scriptural accounts of the Holy Eucharist he deduces that the main elements of the original institution were: 1. Consecration by a form of thanksgiving, of which the content is not known, 2. the Fraction, 3. Communion with the words: "This is my body," "This is my blood," etc., which words are words of administration, not of consecration.

Mr. Bishop thinks further that, down to the fifth century at least, the Roman rite was used only in that city and its immediate neighbourhood, the rest of the West (including Africa)[3] using the "Gallican" rite. In the Eastern rites each Liturgy was equally suited to any day or occasion; but in the West different Masses were composed, suited to special days of the ecclesiastical year. The Roman rite shows a compromise. Its variable collects, prefaces, etc., are a concession to the Western idea, while the unchanging Canon shows the original liturgy, equally suitable for any occasion.

The form of consecration in the Eastern rites consists of: 1. Words of institution, 2. anamnesis, 3. an invocation, usually of the Holy Ghost. He gives reasons for his opinion that the only early known

[1] Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and now Rector of Orsett, in Essex.

[2] July, 1908, vol. lxvi, pp. 385-404: *The Primitive Form of Consecration of the Holy Eucharist.* The account of Mr. Bishop's theory in the first edition of this book was taken from the *Dict. d'Archéologie* (ii, 1895-1898), in which it is not stated accurately.

[3] See p. 45.

form of Consecration in the West (Gallican) agrees with the Eastern form. It had the words of institution, followed by an invocation. The original wording of this invocation was a prayer for the Holy Ghost, "ut fiat hoc sacrificium verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, etc.". Mr. Bishop then proposes the theory that in the Roman Canon the original form of Consecration also consisted of the words of institution, anamnesis and invocation of the Holy Ghost. He supports this view by the form of our Blessing of the font on Holy Saturday, which (he says) is evidently modelled on the Consecration at Mass.[1] In the Blessing of the font we find: 1. The words of institution ("Ite, docete omnes gentes, etc."), 2. an anamnesis ("Hæc nobis præcepta servantibus, etc."),[2] 3. an invocation of the Holy Ghost ("Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis"), in this order. He thinks that dogmatic considerations caused modifications of the text of the Epiklesis in the West generally, that in the Roman Mass the *Supplices te rogamus* prayer has taken the place of the older invocation, that this may possibly be found in the *Quam oblationem* prayer.[3]

Mgr. Batiffol has controverted this theory.[4] He denies that the Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost is either primitive or universal; but he does not directly discuss the question whether there may have been such an invocation in the Roman Mass of the fourth century. Nor does he meet the argument from the blessing of

[1] It was a common practice to model one prayer on another. Thus the preface of Mass was imitated in many not Eucharistic prefaces, etc.

[2] Cfr. *Missale gothicum:* Cath. Petri, "Post mysteria" (P.L. lxxii, 257); *Miss. Moz.* S. Christina, "Post pridie" (P.L. lxxxv, 794).

[3] Mr. Edmund Bishop also considers that the *Quam oblationem* is our Invocation (*Hom. of Narsai*, p. 136).

[4] In the *Revue du clergé français*, 15 Dec., 1908, pp. 641-662; cfr. *ib.* 1 Sept., 1908.

the font.[1] Mr. Bishop, on his part, admits the possibility that the mention of the Holy Ghost may be a later development. But he maintains that in all the primitive rites the order of the Consecration consists of the words of institution, anamnesis, and a prayer for the changing of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, in that order.

A point which we may notice specially in this theory (besides the question of these three elements of the Consecration) is the idea of the *Quam oblationem* as the Roman Epiklesis. It is certainly the prayer in our Canon (as we have it now) which best corresponds to the idea of an invocation.[2] It does not explicitly invoke the Holy Ghost; but neither do other old invocations.[3]

§ 10. Dr. Baumstark.

Dr. Antony Baumstark[4] has exposed his theory in a work: *Liturgia romana e liturgia dell'Esarcato.*[5] He agrees in the main with Drews, whose system will be exposed below;[6] so much so that Drews writes unkindly: "Baumstark has assented to it in a long exposition, but without bringing new proofs".[7] This is not quite exact. Baumstark has his own ideas, though they do not seem tenable.

Like Drews he admits a complete rearrangement of the Canon, whose earlier order may be found by comparing Eastern, especially the Jerusalem-Antiochene liturgies. Much of Drews' argument reappears here. He agrees too that the change was made under

[1] Abbot Cabrol disputes the analogy between this and the Canon, in the *Dict. d'archéologie*, ii, 1898.

[2] See E. Bishop, *loc. cit.* [3] See p. 403.

[4] Director of the Campo Santo at Rome and some time editor of the half-yearly Roman periodical *Oriens Christianus.*

[5] Rome, Pustet, 1904. [6] Pp. 156-166.

[7] *Untersuchungen*, u.s.w. p. 123.

the influence of Alexandria. But he differs from Drews as to the time and reason of the rearrangement. Baumstark thinks that there was a liturgy of Ravenna, of the Exarchate, derived from Alexandria. It was the influence of Ravenna, politically the chief city of Italy at the time,[1] that made Rome under Leo I (440-461) adopt its (Alexandrine) liturgy, combining it with the older Roman (Antiochene) rite. In our present Canon the prayers *Te igitur*, *Memento vivorum*, *Communicantes* and *Memento defunctorum* are Antiochene; the *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem*, *Supra quæ*, *Supplices te* and part of the *Memento defunctorum* are from Alexandria through Ravenna. The combination of these two Canons has produced the present dislocation. St. Gregory I (590-604) finally worked over the composite prayer, left out certain repetitions and so gave the finishing touch to our Canon. For the rest Baumstark's suggested restoration of the original Canon[2] does not differ materially from that of Drews. Funk rejects it,[3] though he says it is attractive;[4] Dom G. Morin admits some of Baumstark's ideas.[5] Buchwald attacks especially the date and place of the Alexandrine influence. He thinks it very unlikely that the Roman Church should have adopted another Canon on the top of her own. In any case the real importance of Ravenna was under the Exarchs in the sixth and seventh centuries. This is too late. The Leonine book and *de Sacramentis* show that Rome had our Canon much earlier—by the

[1] The Emperor Honorius (395-423) established himself at Ravenna in 402; but the Exarchs at Ravenna only began in the VIth century.

[2] Drawn up in his appendix, *op. cit.* pp. .183-186.

[3] *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, iii (Paderborn, 1907): *Ueber den Kanon der röm. Messe*, pp. 117-133.

[4] *Ib.* 121.

[5] *Revue Bénédictine*, 1904, pp. 375-380. Drews criticizes Baumstark's book, rejecting his view about Ravenna, in the *Göttinger Gelehrten—Anzeigen*, 1906, pp. 781-826.

end of the IVth century.[1] However in one point Baumstark seems to have made a really important discovery, namely that the *Hanc igitur* prayer (without the later addition: "diesque nostros in tua pace disponas," etc.) is the fragment of an Intercession. He quotes a form of this prayer from two early Roman Sacramentaries in Gaul.[2] It begins: "Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus Domine, placatus accipias, quam tibi devoto offerimus corde pro pace et caritate et unitate sanctæ ecclesiæ, pro fide catholica . . . " and goes on with a series of well-ordered petitions, each beginning with the word *pro*, just as the Greek intercessions begin each clause ὑπέρ.[3] Drews admits this readily and thinks that the *Hanc igitur* was once the deacon's prayer of Inclination which, as in the Eastern rites (E. gr. Apost. Const. VIII, xiii, 2-9), followed the celebrant's Intercession prayer (*Te igitur*, *Memento*, *Communicantes*).[4] When the deacon's part of the Mass was absorbed by the celebrant this prayer became useless. Baumstark thinks that the deacon's Inclination-prayer is a foreign addition to the Roman rite—part of his Alexandrine-Ravennatese liturgy.[5] Drews maintains that it is part of the genuine Roman inheritance from the primitive rite, and says with some reason: "At any rate my conjecture deserves more consideration than that of Baumstark." [6]

[1] So Buchwald: *Die Epiklese* (see below p. 151) pp. 48-49.

[2] One from the abbey of Vauclair, published by Martène in his *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins* (Paris, 1724) and one at Rouen published by Delisle and then by Ebner: *Iter italicum* (Freiburg, 1896), 417. They represent apparently the time of the early use of the Roman rite in Gaul (VIII-IX cent. ?).

[3] *Liturgia romana*, pp. 103-104. Baumstark draws up parallel forms from various Eastern rites (104-106). Drews finds, as one would expect, parallels from Apost. Const. VIII (*Untersuchungen*, 137-139).

[4] *Ib.* 139-140. See below pp. 162, 333.

[5] *Liturgia romana*, pp. 107-109.

[6] *Untersuchungen*, 140. But others see in these longer forms merely later adaptations of the *Hanc Igitur* prayer.

§ 11. Dr. Buchwald.

Dr. Rudolf Buchwald[1] in the first number of the *Weidenauer Studien*[2] writes an article on the Epiklesis in the Roman Mass[3] in which he proposes yet another theory about the origin of the Canon. Starting from the text of *de Sacramentis*, he considers this to be neither Roman nor taken from Rome.[4] That the work was not written at Rome is clear (above p. 129); I do not see on what ground he can deny that the prayers are taken from Rome (p. 129, above). But this detail matters little, as Buchwald admits that the prayers are the same as those of Rome. The Canon of *de Sacramentis*, he says, is unchangeable, therefore Eastern. Further it is taken from Alexandria. This he maintains from the two prayers: "Fac nobis hanc oblationem" and "et petimus et precamur". Of these he finds ingenious parallels in the Alexandrine rite.[5] His argument will repay careful study as an example of the way such parallels may be traced; it is too long to repeat here.[6] A Western Church then borrowed these prayers from Alexandria and recast them to suit its own rite.[7] It did so in order to form an unchanging Canon instead of the former variable one used in all Western Churches. This happened in the fourth century, when there was a tendency in the West to adopt an unchanging form for the Canon.[8] The recital of the words of Institution (*Qui pridie*) and

[1] Professor at Breslau.

[2] Edited by the Professors of the new theological seminary at Weidenau in Austrian Silesia (Weidenau and Vienna, 1906).

[3] Pp. 21-56. [4] *Ib.* 34. [5] Pp. 36-41.

[6] Mr. E. Bishop, however, rejects this parallel altogether. He shows reason to believe that the Alexandrine parallel forms are no part of the original rite, but later importations from Antioch through Constantinople. With this the theory would fall to the ground. So he rejects it unconditionally. *Liturg. Comm. and Mem.* ii (*Journ. Theol. Studies*, x, 1909, pp. 592-603).

[7] P. 42. [8] So also Probst: *Liturgie des iv Jhrhdts*, 354-357.

the Anamnesis (*Ergo memores*) were not taken from Alexandria, because these were already unchanging in the West. The Church that borrowed these prayers in *de Sacramentis* was Milan in the IVth century.[1] It took them from Aquileia, under whose influence Milan at that time stood. It was Aquileia that first got the prayers from Alexandria.[2] And Rome too took its Canon from Aquileia[3] at about the same time, as the allusion to Melkisedek in the *Quæstiones vet. et novi test.* shows.[4] The Leonianum confirms this.[5] So the text of *de Sacramentis* represents also the Canon adopted by Rome.

Our present Canon is the work of St. Gregory I, who transformed the older one when he (because of the ever growing Western insistence on consecration by the words of institution) took away the Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost.[6] Buchwald reconstructs the Roman Epiklesis (from Leo I to Gregory I) thus:

"Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Iesum Christum filium tuum supplices rogamus ac petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata, supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere et mittere digneris Spiritum sanctum tuum, ut fiat panis corpus et vinum sanguis unigeniti tui, et quotquot sacrosanctum Christi corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione cælesti et gratia repleamur".[7] This Epiklesis came in the usual place after

[1] Buchwald thinks that the author of *de Sacr.* was St. Ambrose (*op. cit.* 43).

[2] P. 46 he gives reasons for his belief that Aquileia was then much influenced by Alexandria. E. gr. a Synod of Aquileia in 381 says: "in all things we always hold the order and arrangement of the Church of Alexandria" (p. 47).

[3] Aquileia was a very important centre in the IVth century. In 337 the Bishop of Aquileia had the second place after the Pope in a Synod (p. 48).

[4] Quoted above, p. 128.

[5] For Buchwald's views about the Leonine book see above, p. 119.

[6] For Buchwald's ideas about the Roman Epiklesis see below, p. 407.

[7] *Op. cit.* 55.

the Anamnesis (*Ergo memores*, or *Unde et memores*).

Apart from the mere fact that Rome once had an Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost[1] Buchwald arrives at this conjectural restoration in this way: Several phrases in our present Canon are difficult to explain logically, so that it may be deduced that they were not originally composed in the order in which they now stand, but have been patched together at a later reconstruction. For instance in *Supra quæ* we have an accusative (quæ) governed by a preposition, then an adjective directly governed by a verb (accepta habere) in apposition to it. This construction he describes, with reason, as "harsh".[2] In *Supplices* the second half of the prayer ("ut quotquot," etc., a prayer for the communicants) does not follow naturally the first half (that God may receive the sacrifice at his heavenly altar); the clause "ex hac altaris participatione," is "quite obviously" introduced into the second half, to join it on to the former part. Early texts of the Canon still show uncertainty about this clause.[3] The first part of our *Te igitur* prayer has all the appearance of the beginning of an Epiklesis;[4] its second half ("in primis quæ tibi offerimus," etc.) again did not originally belong to it. *Imprimis* always connects a particular petition with a general one. This second part ought to follow a general prayer for all people[5]; we should then say naturally "and first for the Church, Pope (king) and bishop". The form then would be originally "imprimis tibi offerimus".

[1] He proves this by the text of Gelasius I (below pp. 405-406) and, as will be shown (pp. 162, 167, etc.), in this point at least he agrees with most writers now.

[2] P. 54.

[3] The Stowe missal and Biasca Sacramentary have variants; Buchwald *op. cit.* 54.

[4] Baumstark agrees about this; *Liturgia romana*, pp. 128-138.

[5] Such as, for instance, the Mozarabic form: "offerunt pro se et universa fraternitate" (P.L. lxxxv. 543).

The word *quæ* is an addition to join this to the *Te igitur*. "Supra quæ" would follow "Sacrificia illibata" admirably. We must add a clear Epiklesis, such as (after "sereno vultu respicere") "et mittere Spiritum sanctum, ut panis fiat corpus et vinum sanguis Christi." The second part of the *Supplices* prayer ("ut quotquot"), leaving out the clause "ex hac altaris participatione" makes the usual end of an Epiklesis, namely a prayer for the communicants. So Buchwald arrives at his suggested old Roman Epiklesis. Gregory I broke up this prayer and scattered its fragments throughout the Canon. He took away altogether the vital phrase "et mittere Spiritum sanctum, etc." The following clause "ut fiat panis corpus, etc.," was conveniently attached to the end of the prayer "Quam oblationem," before the words of institution, and there took the place of the words: "quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Christi" (in *de Sacramentis*, above p. 130). The solemn beginning of the Epiklesis ("Te igitur") was removed to the beginning of the whole Canon. So the passage "Supra quæ propitio, etc." was left alone after the Anamnesis, where it still stands. *Quæ* then referred to *panem* and *calicem* at the end of the *Unde et memores*. But its continuation as a prayer for the communicants was no longer suitable. So instead the end of the next prayer (about the heavenly altar, as in *de Sacramentis*) namely "suscipere sicut suscipere dignatus es" and so on (about Abel, Abraham and Melkisedek) made a suitable ending for this *Supra quæ* prayer. Lastly the next prayer in question was modified by the addition of the clause "iube hæc perferri" and kept the old petition for the communicants that ended the Epiklesis.[1]

A careful comparison of the Canon in *de Sacra-*

[1] *Op. cit.* 55.

mentis, where (as we have seen) the phrases of our two prayers *Supra quæ* and *Supplices* occur in an inverted order (p. 131) will show that this suggested reconstruction agrees with it very well. Buchwald's other points also deserve attention; his proposed Epiklesis is certainly ingenious. It reads (as above, p. 152) smoothly and plausibly. On the other hand one need hardly point out that his theory is pure conjecture. There are no documents to warrant it. Indeed this way of breaking up the fragments of the Canon and rearranging them in a new mosaic is really a most arbitrary proceeding; his rejection of a word or clause here and there as being added later by St. Gregory is amusingly like the way the Higher Critics treat the Hexateuch.

One other point of Buchwald's theory should be mentioned, his idea about the *Hanc igitur* prayer. Like Baumstark (p. 150) he sees that this was once a longer prayer of Intercession and he notes the tradition that Gregory added to it "diesque nostros in tua pace disponas" (p. 137). He also notices that the *Hanc igitur* was once a variable prayer.[1] He believes then that St. Gregory, wishing to abolish these changes and to reduce the Canon to an unchanging form, substituted for the variable clauses one that contained their general idea in one fixed formula. This formula is the one we have, in which we pray for the living (diesque nostros), for the dead (ab æterna damnatione) and remember the Saints (in electorum tuorum grege). The first part mentions the clergy (servitutis nostræ) and the people (cunctæ familiæ tuæ) so the whole prayer became a shortened

[1] The Leonianum gives various clauses for it on special occasions (e. gr. ed. Feltoe p. 123). We have still a special clause inserted at Easter and Pentecost. The Gelasianum has many such varying clauses.

and invariable general intercession. Further the same hand that wrote "servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ" in this prayer also wrote "nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta"[1] in the Anamnesis. He attributes both to Gregory.[2] The tradition then that attributes to that great Pope the final revision of the Canon is justified.

§ 12. Dr. Drews.

Dr. Paul Drews[3] in 1902 proposed his theory of the reconstruction of the Canon, in the first number of a new series of Studies in Liturgy.[4] It was Drews who to a great extent aroused the present interest in this question; his ideas are those that on the whole have found most favour (except among the people who are sceptical about all such theories). Funk at first rejected Drews' theory altogether.[5] In a later article admitting Baumstark's ideas, at least in general,[6] he apparently conceded the essence of what Drews had said.[7] Baumstark's theory is only a variant of that of Drews; Rauschen too considers Drews' position the most probable one.[8]

Drews points out the want of consistent order, the abrupt transitions, reduplications and harsh construc-

[1] Absent in *de Sacr.* (above p. 131). [2] Buchwald: *op. cit.* 53.

[3] Then Professor of Practical Theology at the (Protestant) University of Giessen, now at Halle.

[4] *Studien zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes u. des gottesdienstlichen Lebens.* I. *Zur Enstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe.* Tübingen u. Leipzig, Mohr, 1902.

[5] In the article quoted p. 165 n. 2.

[6] *Theologische Quartalschrift* (Tübingen) 1904, pp. 600 seq.

[7] Drews quotes him in good faith as converted to his ideas (*Untersuchungen*, p. 123); so also Rauschen (*Eucharistie u. Busssakrament*, 108-109). But in his *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, iii, 134 Funk will not admit that he has changed his mind. I agree with Rauschen (*op. cit.* 109) in not understanding what he means. Unhappily Funk († 1907) is no longer here to explain.

[8] *Ib.* 111.

tions of our present Canon. Of these he notes especially the anomalous and unique state of the Intercession prayer, of which half (*Memento vivorum*, *Communicantes*) comes before, and half (*Memento defunctorum*, *Nobis quoque*) after the consecration; and then the mysterious *igitur* at the beginning (*Te igitur*) that refers to nothing that has gone before (Preface and Sanctus). He concludes therefore that our present text has been dislocated from an older order, in which the various prayers followed one another more logically. But he does not merely guess what that order was, nor propose an arbitrary rearrangement according to what seems more natural to him. He thinks that a basis for restoring the original Roman Canon may be found in the Greek liturgy of St. James. Namely the Roman Mass, he maintains, belongs to the same family as the rite of Jerusalem-Antioch;[1] so that the original order of its prayers may be found by arranging them as the corresponding ones are arranged in St. James. To shew this he draws up in parallel columns the Roman forms and those of Jerusalem. It does not seem possible to deny that there is a very remarkable identity, not only of ideas but even of clauses and words. There is not space here to reproduce all his parallel formulas; one or two examples will serve as specimens; references will supply the rest. Thus in our *Te igitur* prayer we have:

[1] In a later work (*Untersuchungen* u.s.w.), as we have seen (p. 64) Drews connects Rome with the primitive rite represented by Apost. Const. VIII. But he explains there (pp. 125-126) that there is no contradiction in this. For, in the first place, St. James and Apost. Const. belong to the same family (Antioch-Jerusalem-Constantinople) and, in the second, it may still be maintained that Rome and Jerusalem kept together after both had developed from the primitive rite. It still seems that Jerusalem affected Rome (or vice versa?) in the later stage of evolution; Baumstark too sees the relationship between these two rites.

Rome:	Jerusalem (Syrian rite)
In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.	Wherefore we offer unto thee, O Lord, this same . . sacrifice for these thine holy places . . and especially for the Holy Sion . . and for thy holy Church which is in all the world . . . (Deacon) . . for the venerable and most blessed Mar N. our Patriarch, and for Mar N. metropolitan with the residue of the metropolitans and venerable orthodox bishops, let us beseech the Lord.[1]

Older forms of the Latin Canon approach still nearer to the form of Jerusalem. Thus Optatus of Mileve says that the sacrifice is offered "for the Church which is one and is spread throughout the whole world".[2] At one time at Rome there was here a prayer for the celebrant himself. Cardinal Bona gives several such forms, e. gr: "Mihi quoque indignissimo famulo tuo propitius esse digneris et ab omnibus meis delictorum offensionibus me clementer emundare dignare".[3] So also St. James (Brightman, 55, 90).[4] The Emperor or King who was always named here in the Roman rite (after the Pope) occurs in the same place at Jerusalem (Brightman, 55).

The Roman *Memento vivorum* has again the same phrases as the introduction to the Diptychs of the Living at Jerusalem (Brightman, 91): "Remember also O Lord," "those who stand with us" (="omnium circumstantium"), "those who have offered the offerings . . . and those for whom each has offered". Our *Communicantes* corresponds in many phrases and expressions to the list of Saints in St. James (*ib.* 56-57,

[1] St. James' liturgy; beginning of the Intercession (Brightman, pp. 89-90; cfr. 54-55), Drews quotes Renaudot's text in Latin.
[2] *de Schism. Donat.* ii, 12 (ed. Ziwsa, Vienna, 1893, p. 47).
[3] *Rerum liturg. libri duo*, II, xi, 5 (Paris edition, 1672, p. 427).
[4] St. Mark has this prayer too (Brightman, 130, 173).

93) and ends: "ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio" like the Jerusalem prayer ("that we may find grace and mercy before thee, O Lord, for help in good time" *ib.* 57). The second half of *Hanc igitur* ("diesque nostros") resembles the final clauses of St. James' commemoration of the dead (Ὑμῶν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς χριστιανὰ κ.τ.λ. *ib.* 57).

From all this Drews concludes that these prayers in the Roman rite are fragments of the old Intercession which corresponded to that of St. James' rite and was once arranged in the same way.[1] This is the main point. Other resemblances confirm it. Our *Qui pridie* with the words of Institution has continually the expressions of the same prayer in St. James (*ib.* 86-87).[2] Where there is a considerable divergence here (in the words for the chalice) the older Roman form ("Hic est enim sanguis meus" in *de Sacramentis,* above p. 130) agrees with the form of Jerusalem. Many other such resemblances may be seen in Drews' book.[3]

His reconstruction then consists in putting the whole Roman Intercession (*Te igitur, Memento vivorum, Communicantes, Memento defunctorum, Nobis quoque*) after the Consecration, as in the liturgy of St. James. The letter of Innocent I to Decentius (above p. 132) shows that it was so once[4] and gives us a certain date (416) at which the change had not yet been made. Thus the *igitur* in *Te igitur* referred naturally to the

[1] *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 12.

[2] Except, of course, for the difference between "pridie quam pateretur" and "in the night in which he was betrayed" that is typical of West and East (above pp. 99).

[3] On the other hand (and this certainly weakens the argument), there are also a fair number of parallels between Rome and the other Eastern parent rite of Alexandria. These are quoted in the article *Canon of the Mass* in the American *Catholic Encyclopædia.*

[4] Funk (*Ueber den Kanon, op. cit.* pp. 91-95) disputes this, I think ineffectually. Other evidences for Drews are the letters of Boniface I and Celestine I (above p. 133).

ideas of the *Supplices* prayer. After the end of that prayer which marks a final point (per eumdem Christum, Dominum nostrum. Amen), the Intercession began again, taking up the same idea (" Supplices te rogamus," then: "Te igitur . . supplices rogamus ac petimus").

Before the Consecration we now have left only the *Hanc (igitur) oblationem* and *Quam oblationem*, which begins in the same way, only with a relative. The *Quam oblationem*, except for the relative form, makes the short transition from the preface to the words of institution, as at Jerusalem, Antioch, in Gaul and many rites. In *de Sacramentis* the form of this prayer is not relative (" fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam " etc.). Drews thought further that the *Hanc igitur* prayer should be divided into two separate parts, that its first part is merely the old beginning of *Quam oblationem.* The second half (" diesque nostros " etc.) is part of the old commemoration of the dead and forms a reduplication of the end of the *Nobis quoque.* The *Nobis quoque* is a natural continuation of the *Memento defunctorum*, parallel to other rites, which continue after their prayer for the dead by asking that we too may come to be counted among the elect (so St. James, Brightman, 57; St. Mark, *ib.* 129 etc.) and it repeats the idea of the second part of the *Hanc igitur:*

Hanc igitur:	Nobis quoque:
In electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari.	Partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus.

The liturgy of St. James has a parallel form to the second half of our *Hanc igitur*, namely: " And keep for us in peace, O Lord, a Christian, well-pleasing and sinless end to our lives (cfr: " diesque nostros in tua pace disponas "), gathering us under the feet of thine elect (" in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari "), when

thou wilt and as thou wilt, only without shame and offence, through thine only begotten Son, our Lord and God Jesus Christ" (Brightman, 57). It ends then with a final clause, unusual in the middle of the Anaphora, just as does the *Hanc igitur* and the *Nobis quoque.* And this prayer comes immediately after the memory of the dead and is the one that corresponds to our *Nobis quoque.* Even after the two parts had been put together (by Gregory I) to form our one *Hanc igitur* prayer people still remembered its connection with the dead. In a Greek version of the Roman Canon combined with the Byzantine proanaphoral liturgy (IXth or Xth cent.)[1] the *Hanc igitur* is introduced by the rubric: "Here he names the dead" (Swainson, p. 197). Drews therefore considered that the second part of this prayer is merely a reduplication of part of the *Nobis quoque.*

Its first half is a reduplication of the *Quam oblationem*, or rather an extended form of its first words. The *igitur* is not original. Sarapion [2] and St. Mark's liturgy [3] have parallel forms where we read simply: *ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν.* Combining these two (*Hanc oblationem* in its first half and *Quam oblationem*) we have as the original beginning of the Canon after the Sanctus: "Hanc oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias, *ut* in omnibus benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et

[1] The so-called *Liturgia S. Petri* published in 1589 by William Linden. It is possibly "only a literary experiment" (Brightman) or may have been used by Byzantine Uniates in Italy. See Brightman *op. cit.* p. xci. It is printed in C. A. Swainson: *The Greek Liturgies* (Cambridge, 1884), pp. 191-203. Such combinations of the Roman Canon with a foreign proanaphora are not uncommon. Cfr. the Bobbio missal and the present Ambrosian rite.

[2] Funk: *Didascalia*, xiii, 11 (ii, p. 174).

[3] Brightman, 132, l. 13.

sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui pridie etc." and so to the words of institution. Even the little word *ut*, added to join the parts of this prayer, has a warrant. The Greek "Liturgy of St. Peter" has *ἵνα* here (Swainson, 197).

But the *Hanc igitur oblationem* seems destined to be a crux interpretum. Since Drews wrote his pamphlet Baumstark has proposed quite another explanation of it (above p. 150) to whom Drews now consents, saying "I sacrifice willingly to him what I said about it."[1] Drews also now sees in the *Quam oblationem* the fragment of an Epiklesis[2] and compares it to the Epiklesis in Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 39. It would seem that in his first work (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte*) he was possessed by the idea of the liturgy of St. James, finding in it what he calls "schlagende" proofs of Roman dependence on it; now (*Untersuchungen*) he has taken up Probst's idea and finds equally "schlagende" parallels with Apost. Const. VIII, with different prayers. Which things, as Mr. Bishop would say, are no doubt "salutary, indeed necessary" warnings.[3] I do not know how Drews will reconcile this admission with his idea of the beginning of the Canon, or how he will modify that idea. Nevertheless his main point, that the Intercession came together after the Consecration is not affected. He finds other traces of this older arrangement. The Greek "Liturgy of St. Peter," referred to above, contains a variation from our present text that points in the same direction. It gives a version of our *Supplices te rogamus* and then continues: "Aloud. First remember, O Lord, the Archbishop. He then commemorates the living. And to us sinners . . ." Here too then we have the Intercession

[1] *Untersuchungen*, 136. [2] *Ib.* 141.
[3] Cfr. *Homilies of Narsai*, 133, note.

(*Memento vivorum*) after the *Supplices.*[1] Another witness is the *Ordo Missæ* published by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Matthias Flach Francowitz, chief of the Magdeburg Centuriators) in 1557.[2] This is a compilation of about the VIIIth century.[3] It is in complete disorder, yet it shows traces of the old arrangement. After the Anamnesis and an Epiklesis follow the *Te igitur, Memento vivorum* etc. Again the Intercession after the Consecration.

Drews' scheme of the original Canon then is this:

Quam oblationem (but not in a relative form).[4]
Qui pridie.
Unde et memores (Anamnesis).
Supra quæ and Supplices te rogamus, originally arranged as in *de Sacramentis* and once containing the Epiklesis.

Te igitur,
Memento vivorum,
Communicantes,
Memento defunctorum
Nobis quoque peccatoribus
} (Intercession).

[1] The opponents of Drews' theory will, of course, say that this order is simply part of the compromise that liturgy shows throughout between the Roman and Byzantine rites.

[2] Reprinted in Martène: *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, I, iv, 12. (P.L. cxxxviii, 1305-1336.)

[3] J. Braun, S.J. thinks it was composed in 1030 for Bishop Sigebert of Minden (*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1905, ii, 143-145). Abbot Cabrol has examined it carefully in the *Revue Bénédictine* (1905; pp. 151-164) and concludes that it is a mixed Roman and Gallican work, probably composed by Alcuin between 780 and 796 for his friend Aquila (or Arno), Bishop of Salzburg. It has drawn its prayers from all sources, Leonine, Gelasian, Gregorian, Spanish, Keltic etc. and may be the channel through which some elements came to our present missal.

[4] We have seen that he put the first half of *Hanc (igitur) oblationem* here, till Baumstark convinced him that that is a remnant of the deacon's inclination prayer (above pp. 161-162).

He adds that even so the Canon is only the fragment of a once much longer prayer. It was then turned round at a later date into its present order. Such an inversion was the more easy, since there was a distinct break before *Te igitur*, namely the "Per eumdem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Amen" at the end of *Supplices te rogamus.*

When and why was this change made? It was not yet made when Innocent I wrote to Decentius (416); it was made, we may say for certain, by the time of Gregory I (590-604).[1] We have thus two extreme dates between which the Canon was rearranged.

Drews thinks that we can determine the time more nearly, and proposes Gelasius I (492-496) as the Pope who made the change. This would account for the constant tradition that ascribes to him the composition of the Canon.[2] We know that he did not invent the prayers; they existed long before his time (*de Sacramentis*, etc.); but would not such a recasting of the arrangement as Drews supposes best account for this tradition? Why was the change made? Obviously to assimilate the Roman rite with that of Alexandria. At Alexandria the Intercession comes before the Consecration. The Roman Intercession, or rather its greater part, was moved to conform with that. Drews points out the alliance between Rome and Alexandria (against Antioch and Constantinople) in the Vth century,[3] and lastly suggests the influence of John

[1] At any rate it was made when the Canon of the Gelasian Sacramentary was written (VI or VII cent.).

[2] Gennadius of Marseilles says that Gelasius wrote a Sacramentary (*de vir. illustr.* xcvi; P.L. lviii, 1115); the Stowe Missal (VII cent.) ascribes its Canon to Gelasius; Ioannes Diaconus (*Vita Gregorii*, ii, 17 P.L. lxxv, 94), the *Liber Pontificalis* (i, 255 ed. Duchesne), Walafrid Strabo (*de eccl. rerum exord;* P.L. cxiv, 946) and a multitude of other writers name Gelasius as author of a Sacramentary or as composer of liturgical texts.

[3] The time of the Acacian Schism (484-519).

Talaia, Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, who was a friend of Gelasius and spent many years of exile at Rome,[1] as causing the change.

Such is Drews' theory. It is not fair to him to represent all he says as standing or falling with his suggestion about Gelasius and Talaia. He advances that as a conjecture only. The main issue is that the Roman Canon which once had its Intercession after the Consecration inverted its order at some time between Innocent I (or Celestine I) and Gregory I, that is in the Vth or VIth centuries.

The theory has been severely criticized. Funk at first would have none of it.[2] He saw no argument in anything advanced by Drews. The *Te igitur* follows the secrets naturally; Drews' suggested beginning has at least as many difficulties. Innocent I's letter only means that the Intercession comes in the Canon: "prius oblationes sunt commendandæ" refers, not to the Consecration, but to the *Te igitur* prayer.[3] Funk sees no proof in the parallels with St. James' rite. Such parallels occur between all rites. And he is quite angry with John Talaia: "Drews had better drop Talaia. Such artificial and forced arguments can only do harm to his theory".[4] Mr. Brightman too thinks very little of the suggested reconstruction: "It is easy to compare the Roman paragraphs with their

[1] John Talaia, Patriarch from 481 to 482, was then banished to make room for Peter Mongos. He came to Rome in 483 and stayed there till his death as the honoured guest and adviser of several Popes.

[2] *Ueber den Kanon der römischen Messe*, in the *Histor. Jahrbuch*, 1903; reprinted in his *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen u. Untersuchungen* iii (Paderborn, 1907) 85-134.

[3] This seems to me improbable. "Ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus" (see the text above p. 133) must surely mean the Consecration. Drews in his answer to Funk (*Göttinger Gelehrten-Anzeigen*, 1906; p. 779) points out truly that if Funk were right the difference between Rome and Eugubium, which Innocent takes so seriously, would be a detail of no importance at all.

[4] *Op. cit.* 91, note.

parallels in the Syrian rite, and then rearrange them in the Syrian order; but this hardly proves that they ever stood in this order. Yet Dr. Drews' discussion amounts to very little more than this.[1] It is possible enough that the Canon has at some time been more or less rearranged and that the first three paragraphs have been inserted from elsewhere; but there is little plausibility in the suggestion that they ever stood after the Consecration."[2] Nevertheless, at least in Germany, Drews' theory has made considerable way. Funk, as we have seen (p. 156) apparently accepted its main feature before he died (also Baumstark, *ib.*). Dr. Gerhard Rauschen[3] has spoken of several of these theories in his *Eucharistie u. Busssakrament in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche.*[4] He concludes: "Although the question is by no means finally settled, still there is so much for Drews' theory that for the present it ought to be admitted. We must then suppose that about the time between 400 and 500 a great rearrangement of the Canon took place."[5]

§ 13. Dom Cabrol.

Dom Fernand Cabrol, O.S.B.,[6] while acknowledging the many difficulties of this question and refusing to add yet another theory about it, makes certain suggestions that do in fact very nearly amount to one.[7] He points out that our Canon is certainly not the primi-

[1] It seems to me to amount to considerably more. Innocent I's letter seems good evidence that the Intercession once followed the Consecration.

[2] *Journal of Theological Studies*, iv, 146.

[3] Extraord. Professor of History of Religion at Bonn.

[4] Freiburg, Herder, 2nd ed. 1910. [5] *Op. cit.* iii.

[6] Abbot of Farnborough, Editor of the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* now in course of publication (Paris, Letouzey et Ané) and certainly one of the first liturgical scholars of our time.

[7] Article: *Canon de la messe*, *ib.* ii, 1898-1903.

tive form, that it has received additional modifications since it was composed in the IVth century. Gelasius I speaks of an Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost which has since disappeared (below, p. 405), Leo I and Gregory I certainly made changes in the Canon (above pp. 135, 137), the *de Sacramentis* shows a different order (p. 131) and there are in our present text clear signs of gaps, arbitrary juxtapositions and so on. He therefore proposes these stages of the Canon's development: First it was one connected prayer from the beginning of the Preface to the end, before the *Pater noster.* In this prayer there were no breaks, no concluding clauses or Amens, no new beginnings ("Oremus"). The first new formula that disturbed its unity was the *Sanctus*, attributed to Pope Xystus I (c. 119-128).[1] This made a break which was joined together in various ways. In the East the prayer took up again the ideas of the part before it (as we should say: of the preface), ignoring the interruption. In many Western rites (the Gallican family) the *Vere Sanctus* prayer was introduced to connect it with what followed.[2] Rome has now filled this vacant space by the prayers *Te igitur*, *Memento* (vivorum), *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem.* When was this done? The Abbot agrees with Drews that probably the first part of the *Hanc igitur* was originally the introduction of the *Quam oblationem.* The *Memento vivorum* and *Communicantes* were at first not written in the Canon at all. They are the diptychs of the living, once inscribed on separate tab-

[1] The Abbot maintains that the Sanctus is not part of the primitive liturgy (*Origines liturgiques*, p. 329 etc.). On the other hand we have its almost universal occurrence and Clement of Rome's reference to it (1 Clem. xxxiv, 6-7).

[2] See Dom Cagin: *Te Deum ou Illatio* (Paris, 1906), appendix: Formules de transition au Sanctus dans les liturgies latines. On this work see the criticism of Dom G. Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine*, xxiv (1907), pp. 180-223.

lets and read by the deacon. Hence their insertion into the Canon was naturally uncertain; it might be made at any moment; anywhere it would interrupt the flow of the old Eucharistic prayer. *Communicantes* brings us to the first final clause ("per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen") that obviously disturbs the unity of the prayer. Before Innocent I these diptychs were read at the Offertory.[1] The *Te igitur* was probably added to the Canon with these. Innocent refers to it when he writes of "recommending the oblations".[2] Then we have a connected group of prayers: *Qui pridie, Unde et memores, Supra quæ, Supplices.* These follow one another logically and are not to be rearranged; they are the old nucleus of the Canon, as distinct from the other groups. The Epiklesis came somewhere among them. The *Memento defunctorum* and *Nobis quoque* are the diptychs of the dead, also once written on tablets and originally read at the Offertory. They are here a later insertion, again disturbing the old Eucharistic prayer.[3] *Per quem hæc omnia* is another insertion or fragment breaking the old order. Dom Cabrol inclines to Mgr. Duchesne's idea that it marks the place of the old blessing of fruits.[4] The *Per ipsum et cum ipso* etc. with its Amen marks the original end of the Canon.

[1] As in Gaul. Here we have Dom Cagin's idea that the Gallican rite is the old rite of Rome. Abbot Cabrol assumes that Innocent's letter means merely that the diptychs should be read in the Canon, not after the Consecration, as Drews says.

[2] So Funk, above p. 165.

[3] The Abbot makes no suggestion as to why the two sets of diptychs were separated and inserted at different places on either side of the Consecration.

[4] Duchesne: *Origines du Culte* pp. 174-175. Buchwald has suggested another explanation of this difficult passage, as being the remnant of an old Epiklesis of the Logos. See below, pp. 358, 407.

§ 14. Concluding remarks.

The student who is confronted by all these various explanations of the origin of our Roman Canon (and so practically of the Roman Mass)[1] will not find it easy to determine which has the greatest probability. All, or nearly all, have at least some measure of probability, and all have difficulties, generally because such documents as we have can also be explained otherwise. It does not seem that one can accept any one solution as certain. There is an amusing confidence in many of the authors we have quoted that their view solves all difficulties, which confidence may well serve as a warning. Drews, for instance, is magnificent: "All the trouble that interpreters of the Mass have given themselves hitherto has been in vain; but now I hope their trouble is at an end."[2] And then, four years later, when he had read Baumstark, he changed his mind as to one important point in his theory.[3] We will not add to the confusion by proposing yet another solution which, like its predecessors, is to solve all difficulties and supplant all others. Instead of such a new theory some general remarks about the situation shall close this chapter.

It is, of course, perfectly possible to give up any attempt at solving the question of origin at all. Since the Canon of the Gelasian Sacramentary the development is comparatively easy to follow. One could begin with the Gelasian book as our first source and say that we do not know how, when or where the Roman Mass as shown there was composed. This would save all trouble. However, it seems possible

[1] Difficulties as to other elements of the Mass are much less serious and more easily explained. Most of them will be discussed in the Second Part.

[2] *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte*, 26. [3] See above, p. 162.

to discover, at least conjecturally, more about the origin of our rite than that.

It may be taken as certain and admitted on all sides that our Canon is not now in the form in which it was first composed. It is a rearrangement and almost certainly a fragment. The Mass we now say is a considerably shortened form, shortened and recast. Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr and the other authorities quoted in chapter I seem sufficient authority for representing the original Roman rite as being at least on the main lines of the old liturgy, uniform in outline. If we admit that, we ask why and when it was curtailed and recast into the form we know. That is the problem all these theories try to solve. We may again with reasonable certainty distinguish two stages in this development. First the text of the Canon in Latin was composed or translated from the Greek. This produced at any rate much of the prayers we know, but in a different order. Secondly, at some time these prayers were rearranged (shortened if they had not been shortened already) so as to form the Gelasian Canon.

Among the theories proposed to explain this we distinguish two main lines. There is the school of French Benedictines which looks to the Gallican rite for the solution; and the school of most German scholars which looks to the Eastern rites (Antioch and Alexandria). The chief issue as to which these differ is the original place of the prayers, now scattered throughout, which make up the Intercession (the two *Mementos*, *Communicantes*, *Nobis quoque*). The Benedictines think that these once came at the Offertory, the Germans that they always belonged to the Canon, but stood once in a different order. The letter of Innocent I to Decentius (pp. 132-133) is perhaps the document on which the question turns. If he means only that the

Intercession is to be made in the Canon instead of before it, as Abbot Cabrol and Dom Cagin think, no doubt there is much to be said for their theory. But if he means that it is to follow the Consecration, we have clear evidence that at Rome once the order of Jerusalem-Antioch (and Apost. Const.) was kept. To me it seems that he does mean this; the last words appear conclusive: "ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus". I do not see how this can be understood except as meaning that the prayers follow the Consecration. This brings us to the main element of Drews' theory which, all things considered, still seems to me to have more probability than any other. But the matter is one as to which people will perhaps always have different opinions, so that the conclusion of this chapter is chiefly regret that we have no certainty about the origin of our Canon.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MASS SINCE GREGORY I.

§ 1. From Gregory to Adrian I (590-795).

THE reign of St. Gregory the Great (590-604) marks an epoch in the history of the Mass. He left the Roman liturgy practically in the state in which we still have it. We know of three changes made by him, the use of Kyrie eleison (p. 234), the addition to the *Hanc igitur* (p. 137) and the insertion of the Pater noster before the Communion (p. 362). His biographer's expression that he "collected the Sacramentary of Gelasius in one book, leaving out much, changing little" (above p. 135) seems very well to fit the facts. There is moreover a constant tradition that St. Gregory was the last to touch the essential part of the Mass, namely the Canon. Benedict XIV (1740-1758) says: "No Pope has added to or changed the Canon since St. Gregory."[1] The Gelasian Sacramentary, as we have it, is later than St. Gregory, indeed it has already Gallican additions (p. 121). But its foundation, the Roman core, represents the Mass as Gregory knew it. The same may be said of the Gregorian book. Here too, if we take away the Gallican additions, we have the old Roman Mass as it was in the first period after its composition.

[1] *De ss. Missæ Sacrificio*, II, xii, 12; so also Card. Bona (*Rerum liturg.* II, xi, 2) and many others.

The later development is easier to follow than the question of the origin of the Roman rite. There was first an infiltration of Gallican elements, then the evolution of prolific mediæval derived rites. But neither affected the fundamental essence of the Mass. All later modifications were fitted into the old arrangement, and the most important parts were not touched. From, roughly, the time of St. Gregory we have the text of the Mass, its order and arrangement, as a sacred tradition that no one ventured to touch except in unimportant details.

But we must first notice that there are two versions of this text, both represented by the earliest manuscripts of the Gelasian and allied books. Mr. Edmund Bishop has made a careful study of them and has drawn up tables showing the variations.[1] His conclusion is that there is an earlier and purer text represented by the Bobbio missal, the Stowe Missal and the Missale Francorum, which may go back to the early VIIth century. The later text contained in the Gelasian and Gregorian books (but also extant in Gaul in the VIIth century) is the one on which the present missal is based. But the variations between these two groups are not important, as may be seen by consulting his parallel columns.[2]

To separate the pure Roman elements of our missal from later additions we must take away the Gloria (VIth cent.) and the Creed (XIth cent.). The Kyrie eleison is also an importation from the East, made about the Vth century, displacing the old litany. All our Offertory prayers and the psalm at the Lavabo are late Gallican additions. The Agnus Dei and everything

[1] *On the early texts of the Roman Canon*; in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1903, 555-578. Cfr. *ib.* 411-426.

[2] Reproduced in the *Dict. d'archéologie*; s.v. *Canon de la messe* (ii, 1859-1864).

after the Postcommunion (except *Ite missa est*) are not part of the original Roman rite.[1]

We have then as the pure Roman elements of our Mass the Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Tract or Alleluia, Gospel (with its blessing), Offertory-chant, Secret, Preface, Sanctus, Canon, Pater noster (and its embolism), Pax, Communion—act and chant, Postcommunion and Ite missa est.[2] By the time of St. Gregory the Kyrie eleison and Gloria had already been added to these. Since his time there was a gradual infiltration of Gallican elements, till we arrive at our present rite. St. Gregory mentions that Mass lasts three hours.[3]

The *First Roman Ordo* (about 770)[4] shows us a comparatively early stage in this development. There are already some additions to the service since Gregory I. It takes place in this way:

The Pope arrives at the Stational Church where he is to celebrate Mass with a numerous court of deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, his chancellor, notaries etc. One deacon and one subdeacon are already appointed to chant the epistle and gospel and to minister at the Mass. The Pope and his ministers vest in the sacristy. The subdeacon comes out with an acolyte and lays the Gospel-book on the altar. The acolytes' candles are lighted, incense is put in the thurible. The Introit (Antiphona ad introitum) is begun and the procession goes to the altar, with seven candles borne by acolytes and a subdeacon before the Pope with a thurible. On the way two acolytes bring to the Pope the Holy

[1] The introduction of these elements will be considered in Part II, in their places.

[2] Cfr. E. Bishop: *The Genius of the Roman Rite*, reprinted in V. Staley: *Essays on Ceremonial* (London, Moring, 1904) pp. 291-292.

[3] Ep. x, 35, ad Eulogium Alex., P.L. lxxvii, 1091.

[4] P.L. lxxviii, 937-968; E. G. C. Atchley: *Ordo Romanus primus* (London, Moring, 1905).

Eucharist reserved from a former Mass in a pyx;[1] he salutes it and satisfies himself that enough is reserved. The Pope prays silently before the altar and kisses his attendants. Then he signs to the singers who stop singing the Introit psalm and go on at once to *Gloria Patri*, *Sicut erat* and the antiphon repeated. Meanwhile the deacons go up and kiss the ends of the altar; the Pope kisses the Gospel-book and altar. Kyrie eleison is then sung an indefinite number of times, till he makes a sign to stop. Meanwhile he has gone to his throne. He intones the Gloria facing the people, and the choir continues, while he turns to the East. At his throne he sings "Pax vobis" and the Collect (facing the East). All now sit while the subdeacon reads the Epistle at the ambo. Then a Cantor sings the Gradual and another the Alleluia or tract. The deacon comes for the Pope's blessing, goes to the ambo in procession with two lights and incense, and sings the Gospel. After the Gospel the Pope says Dominus vobiscum and Oremus, marking the place of the old Prayers of the Faithful, as we still do. But the prayers had already disappeared. Nor was there left any sign of separation between the Mass of the Catechumens, that ends about here,[2] and the Mass of the Faithful that begins. The deacon spreads the Corporal (much longer then than now) on the altar, the Pope goes down to receive the offerings (bread and wine) from the people, while the choir sing the offertory. All the various classes of people offer loaves and wine, which are arranged on the altar; water is added to the chalice. The Pope and his ministers wash their hands. He then stands at the altar and says the Secret (still the only Offertory-prayer), the bishops and other clergy are grouped

[1] This is the *Sancta* to be mixed in the chalice before Communion. See p. 366.

[2] At Rome apparently before the Gospel. See p. 280.

around him,[1] a sign is made that the choir should stop singing, and so the Pope begins the Eucharistic prayer. He ends the Secret with an Ekphonesis ("Per omnia sæcula sæculorum") as now; the dialogue of the Preface was exactly the one we know. But it may be noticed that the answers are made, not by the choir, but by the district subdeacons, who stand facing the Pope on the other side of the altar. After the Preface the choir sings the Sanctus and then "the Pontiff rises alone and begins the Canon"[2]—the others remain in the presbytery kneeling or bowing (inclinati). The Canon is not described in detail. It proceeded just as we have it now, except that there was as yet no elevation.[3] At the Pax the fragment (Sancta) consecrated at the last Mass is put into the chalice[4] and the Kiss of Peace is given to the clergy and people. The fraction by the Pope and the assisting bishops, priests and deacons follows. There is a second mixture of the consecrated species and all make their Communion under both kinds, as described below (pp. 366-367). The Agnus Dei is sung at the fraction; meanwhile the Pope tells the names of the people he means to invite to breakfast to his officers who write them down and then go and tell the invited to come.

When all the clergy have made their Communion the bishops give Communion to the people in the form of bread, the deacons in the form of wine. While the people make their Communion the choir sings the Communion-antiphon and psalm alternately with the subdeacons; when the Communion is over

[1] The description of this group at the altar (Ordo Rom. I, 16; P.L. lxxviii, 944) shows that it has not changed since the oldest rite; Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 4 (ed. Funk, 496).

[2] The preface is already considered separate from the Canon.

[3] The elevation began in the XIIth cent. See p. 338.

[4] See p. 366.

the regionary subdeacon makes a sign and they sing *Gloria Patri*, *Sicut erat* and repeat the antiphon. The Pope then goes to the altar and sings the Post-communion (Oratio ad complendum), preceded by Dominus vobiscum, at which he does not turn towards the people. A deacon sings "Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias," and the procession goes back to the sacristy. It is a long procession, seven acolytes with candles, a subdeacon with the thurible, bishops, priests, monks, the choir, soldiers with flags (milites draconarii, id est qui signa portant), torchbearers, more acolytes (those who watch the doors), cross-bearers, sextons (mansionarii iuniores), lastly the Pope himself. As they go out, passing the Pope they say "Iube domne benedicere" and he answers "Benedicat nos Dominus". R. Amen.[1]

In picturing thus a Papal High Mass of the eighth century we realize chiefly how little has been changed since. An ordinary modern Catholic would find himself quite at home with the whole service and would understand what is going on all the time perfectly. We should miss the Creed, the Offertory prayers, elevation, blessing and last Gospel only. There are as yet no incensing of persons or things, no bell-ringing. These things are the later additions.

§ 2. The Spread of the Roman rite.

The next step in our history is the gradual supplanting of the Gallican rite by that of Rome throughout the West.[2] The process had begun long before the time

[1] Mr. E. Bishop has noted that the only moments of "ritual pomp" in the old Roman rite are the processions in and out and that for the Gospel (*Genius of the Roman Rite*, loc. cit. 294).

S. Beissel S.J. gives a more detailed account from Ordo Rom. I in *Altchristliche Kunst u. Liturgie in Italien* (Freiburg, 1899), 296-328.

[2] This has been made the subject of a monograph by the Abbé H. Netzer, *L'Introduction de la messe romaine en France sous les Carol-*

of Charles the Great. The Gelasian Sacramentary is an example of a Roman book adapted to use in Gaul, already influenced by the old rite of the country in which it was used. This is the state of things we find throughout the VIth, VIIth and VIIIth centuries. The Roman rite is adopted North of the Alps, but is modified by Gallican additions. Dom Suitbert Bäumer thinks that the Roman Mass came to Gaul first in the early sixth century by way of Arles, probably under the influence of St. Cæsarius († 542).[1] There are other books representing the advance of the Roman use and its fusion with Gallican elements. The Bobbio missal, apparently of the VIIth century,[2] the Missale Gothicum and Missale Gallicanum vetus [3] of the same time and others (see pp. 101-102) show various stages of this mixed rite. When Pope Stephen II (752-757) went to the court of King Pippin the Short (752-768) in 754 the King promised to introduce the Roman rite among his Franks. Roman priests taught the Frankish clergy how to sing as at Rome.[4]

Charles the Great (768-814) was anxious to have uniformity in his kingdom and chose for its basis the Roman rite. He wrote to Pope Adrian I (772-795) asking for a copy of the Roman Sacramentary. The book sent by the Pope about the year 788 is the Gregorian Sacramentary in its original (pure Roman) part. We have seen how and when it was that Gal-

ingiens, Paris, Picard, 1910. The book is useful as a collection of facts but the author's liturgical outlook is rather a narrow one.

[1] *Ueber das sogen. Sacr. Gelas.*; in the *Historisches Jahrbuch* of the Görres-Gesellschaft (Munich, 1893) xiv, pp. 292-293.

[2] Published by Mabillon in his *Musæum Italicum* (Paris, 1687) i, 278-397; see Duchesne in the *Revue d'histoire et de litt. relig.* 1900, pp. 38 seq.

[3] Published by Tomasi (*Opera omnia*, Rome, 1751) vii, Mabillon (*de Liturgia gallicana*, Paris, 1685, pp. 188-300, 329-378) and P.L. lxxii, 225-318, 339-382.

Walafrid Strabo: *De Reb. Eccl.* 25 (P.L. cxiv, 957).

lican elements were added to it (p. 122). Amalarius of Metz († c. 850) says in 820 that everyone in Gaul already knew the Sacramentary sent by Adrian.[1] Walafrid Strabo († 849) writes of the Roman rite as used everywhere, but with easily distinguishable Gallican additions.[2]

In Germany the mission of St. Boniface († 754) meant the introduction of the Roman Mass. A letter sent to him in 751 by Pope Zachary (741-752) insists on conformity with Rome in several details.[3] St. Augustine's mission to England (597), although St. Gregory I in a famous letter told him to choose Roman or Gallican elements as he judged best,[4] nevertheless began the process of supplanting the rites of the country by that of Rome. The Synod of Whitby in 664,[5] St. Aldhelm († 709) in the South[6] and finally the Synod of Cloveshoe in 747[7] brought the Roman liturgy into use throughout the English Church. The Britons, who at first withstood its advance, also adopted it towards the end of the VIIIth century. But in England too the Roman rite received additions from non-Roman sources[8] of which some linger on to the later mediæval derived rites (p. 200). In Scotland and Ireland the Keltic rite lingered on to the XIth or XIIth centuries. St. Malachy of Armagh (1134-1148) and a Synod of Cashel in 1172 insist on the adoption of Roman practices.

[1] *De Eccl. Officiis* i, 37 (P.L. cv, 1068).
[2] *De Rebus Eccl.* 25, (P.L. cxiv, 956). [3] P.L. lxxxix, 949.
[4] Greg. Epist. xi, 64 (P.L. lxxvii, 1186-1187).
[5] St. Bede: *Hist. Eccl. gentis angl.* iii, 25, (P.L. xcv, 158-163).
[6] *Ib.* v, 18, (P.L. xcv, 261).
[7] Can. 13 (Mansi, xii, 399). In the North the local use lingered on till about the end of the VIIIth century. Alcuin writes to Archbishop Eanbald of York, urging him to adopt the Roman rite, at that time. Ep. 63 (P.L. c., 323).
[8] See e. gr. *The Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey* ed. by M. Rule London, 1896. He dates it between 1095 and 1118 (p. xiii).

Spain and Milan showed the greatest opposition. In Spain as early as 538 Profuturus of Braga wrote to ask the Pope for a copy of the Roman Mass (p. 104). In 561 a Synod of Braga ordered the use of the Roman rite. But in 588 the Westgoths got the upper hand in Spain and a reaction in favour of the national liturgy set in. Alexander II (1061-1073) and Gregory VII (1073-1085) succeeded in reversing the process. The Synod of Burgos in 1085 finally introduced the Roman rite throughout the peninsula, except at Toledo where the opposition was so strong that the King (Alphonsus VI) insisted on an exception for that diocese. But in the XIIIth cent. even at Toledo the Roman rite spread and finally reduced the domain of the old Spanish liturgy to one chapel. Cardinal Ximenes persuaded Pope Julius II (1503-1513) to authorize this Mozarabic rite for six parish churches at Toledo and for one chapel at Salamanca. Here it is still used. Romanized to some extent it is now one of the only two fragments of a non-Roman Latin use left.[1]

The other fragment is at Milan. Charles the Great wanted to introduce the Roman rite there too; the same attempt was made several times since. But the importance of the see, the great name of St. Ambrose attached to this rite and the singular loyalty of the Milanese people to their own liturgy[2] preserved it. In 1495 Alexander VI formally approved it. It is used throughout the old archdiocese of Milan, of which some parishes have since been cut off and joined to neighbouring sees (Lugano, Bergamo, Novara). The only other use of Milan now is in parts of the Swiss Canton Ticino. There are curious traces of the rite in other places during the middle ages. In

[1] Cfr. above, p. 105.

[2] In 1440 there was a riot at Milan because the Papal Legate, Cardinal Branda di Castiglione, said a Roman Mass there.

1132-1134 two Austin Canons of Regensburg wrote for Ambrosian books, so as to introduce it at Regensburg; in the XIVth century the Emperor Charles IV (1347-1378) had it used at Prague and there are traces of it, mixed with the Roman rite, at Augsburg down to 1584.[1] But it has been considerably Romanized; it has adopted the whole Roman Canon, keeping only fragments of its original Eucharistic prayer in the Masses for Maundy Thursday and for the newly baptized on Holy Saturday.[2]

We see then that since about the XIth and XIIth centuries the Roman rite has expelled all others and has become, except at Milan and Toledo, the only use of the Roman Patriarchate.[3]

The archæologist may regret the suppression of the old rites commonly classed together as Gallican. On the other hand the process described above was almost inevitable and is most justifiable according to the normal principles of Canon Law. When we consider the enormous importance of the Roman Church as guide of faith and morals, it is natural that she should have been taken as guide of rite too. The local ordinaries in the West who looked to Rome for everything, could hardly help looking to her for guidance in this matter. And when in their frequent visits to Rome they saw how their chief celebrated the holy mysteries, they naturally thought that they could not do better than copy him at home. Moreover if we consider the general principle that *rite should follow*

[1] See H. Jenner: *Ambrosian Liturgy and Rite* in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, i, 395; Lejay: *Ambrosien (Rit)* in the *Dict. de Théologie catholique* (Vacant and Mangenot) i, 954-968; and in the *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne* (Cabrol) i, 2, 1373-1442.

[2] See above pp. 106-107.

[3] Another exception should be made; namely Southern Italy, Sicily and Corsica, where the Byzantine rite is still used in places which certainly belong to the Roman Patriarchate.

patriarchate, this justifies the use of Rome throughout the West. No one ever thought of disputing that Gaul, Germany, Spain, the British Isles, etc., are part of the Roman Patriarchate, so one cannot but find it natural that they should use the Roman rite. Certainly no Eastern Patriarch would tolerate another rite in his patriarchal domain. The Gallican uses were curious exceptions that did not last.

§ 3. Gallican Influence.

We have seen that the Roman rite when it supplanted its rivals in various places adopted some of their peculiarities. It is the beginning of the mediæval derived rites. Moreover some of these non-Roman (Gallican) elements found their way back to Rome and there enriched the Roman liturgy in its very home; so that when in the XVIth century the mediæval rites were abolished, the use of Rome imposed throughout the West was no longer pure but was mixed with foreign elements. Dom S. Bäumer accounts for these elements as being additions made to the Gregorian Sacramentary in the Frankish Kingdom, first in appendices and then incorporated with the original book (p. 122). Under the influence of the Karling Emperors (800-911) this modified book came back to Rome and there displaced the pure Roman Sacramentary. He thinks that the *Missale Romanum Lateranense* of the XIth century[1] marks the end of this development.[2]

It is usual to call the foreign additions to the Roman rite by the general name "Gallican". But this must not be understood as meaning that they are all taken

[1] Published by Azevedo (Rome, 1752). [2] Bäumer, *loc. cit.* 299.

from the old Gallican rite. Many of them came to Rome from North of the Alps, but were new compositions there, not remnants of the displaced rite. For instance the Creed and Offertory-prayers came from the North and are Gallican in that sense, as having begun in Gaul. But the old Gallican rite had no Creed nor these Offertory prayers. And some at least of these non-Roman additions came from Jerusalem and the East. The additions are, first and in general, decorative or symbolic ritual. The pure Roman rite was exceedingly simple, austerely plain; nothing was done except for some reason of practical utility. Its prayers were short, dignified, but one might perhaps call them almost bald compared with the exuberant rhetoric of the East. Long rhetorical prayers full of allusions, symbolic ceremonies and such things are later additions foreign to the genius of the original Roman rite.[1]

In our missal then we have from non-Roman sources the decorative processions,[2] blessings[3] and much of the Holy Week ritual.[4]

In the normal Mass we notice these later additions:

The prayers said at the foot of the altar are in their present form the latest part of all. They developed out of mediæval private preparations and were not formally appointed in their present state before the

[1] See E. Bishop: *The Genius of the Roman Rite*, *op. cit.* He quotes and contrasts the Roman prayers for All Souls' day and the originally non-Roman prayers *pro vivis et defunctis* in Lent (pp. 285-286).

[2] E. gr. at Candlemas (from Jerusalem and Constantinople), Palm Sunday (Jerusalem), etc.

[3] Of ashes and so on. Holy water in church, its blessing and the ceremony of the Asperges began about the IXth cent. See Adolph Franz: *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (Freiburg, Herder, 1909), i.

[4] H. Thurston, S.J.: *Lent and Holy Week* (Longmans, 1904).

missal of Pius V (1570).[1] The Gloria was introduced gradually, at first only to be sung on feasts at bishops' Masses. It is probably Gallican. The Creed came to Rome in the XIth century. The Offertory prayers and Lavabo were introduced from beyond the Alps, hardly before the XIVth century. The *Placeat*, Blessing and Last Gospel were introduced gradually in the middle ages.[2]

If one may venture a criticism of these additions from an æsthetic point of view, it is that they are exceedingly happy. The old Roman rite, in spite of its dignity and archaic simplicity, had the disadvantage of being dull. The Eastern and Gallican rites are too florid for our taste and too long. The few non-Roman elements in our Mass take nothing from its dignity and yet give it enough variety and reticent emotion to make it most beautiful.

§ 4. Different Kinds of Mass. Low Mass.

We have now arrived at the early middle ages. From this time forward there is little to chronicle of the nature of change in the order of the Mass itself. That has now become a sacred and inviolable inheritance; its origin forgotten, it will be popularly believed to date unchanged from the Apostles, or to have been written by St. Peter himself. But there are develop-

[1] Further details about all these parts will be found below in Part II.

[2] It should be noticed that many of the early Missals (missalia plenaria) were compiled by the Franciscans for their own use. These books then, because of their obvious convenience, were used or copied by the clergy generally. So Franciscan customs spread and are one of the influences of the present Roman Mass. See Ebner: *Quellen u. Forschungen*, e. gr. p. 120 (XIII cent. missal) etc. The same thing happened in the case of the breviary. Batiffol: *Histoire du Bréviaire romain* (ed. 3, Paris, 1911) pp. 243-248.

ments of another kind to notice. As the Roman liturgy entered into sole possession of the West, the manner of using it adapted itself to the times, and then came the later derived rites.

The evolution of what we call *Low Mass* is the most important modification. The greater simplicity of Low Mass might lead people to think it the primitive form. On the contrary, it is a late abridgement. All that we have considered so far concerns High Mass; that is to say the early development brings us straight to our High Mass. From the beginning we always hear of the holy liturgy celebrated with deacons, assistants and in the presence of people who cry out and later sing their part.[1] And still High Mass with deacon, subdeacon and a choir is the normal service. It is High Mass that is supposed throughout the ritual. Low Mass is a curtailed substitute, in which the celebrant himself supplies (often awkwardly) the part of the absent ministers when they cannot be had; its arrangements throughout can only be understood by reference to High Mass.

Low Mass became necessary when celebrations were so multiplied that every priest said Mass once a day.

In the first ages we hear different accounts of the occasion when the Holy Eucharist was celebrated. The chief was of course Sunday. Pliny (p. 17), the Didache (p. 8) and Justin (p. 20) speak only of Sunday. The canons of Hippolytus[2] say that it should be celebrated on Sundays, on other days when the bishop desires it and when it is to be said for the dead.[3] But

[1] So Justin Martyr's account, pp. 18-21.

[2] For the date and origin of the *Canons of Hippolytus*, see above, pp. 56-59.

[3] Can. xxxii (Ed. Achellis, p. 106), xxxiii (*ib.*), xxxvii (p. 118).

from the third century we hear of daily celebration. Tertullian († c. 220) applies to the Holy Eucharist the "daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer;[1] St. Cyprian († 258) in several places refers to daily celebration.[2] Then certain days were set apart for the meeting for prayer, the *Synaxis*. They were, besides Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. In Africa and Jerusalem (in the IVth cent.) the Synaxis on these days was liturgical, included the Holy Eucharist; at Alexandria it was not so,[3] nor was it at Rome.[4] So also on Saturday there was a Eucharist at Antioch and Jerusalem,[5] not at Alexandria[6] nor Rome.[7] At Rome then as a rule Sunday was the only day on which Mass was said. But fairly early (VI cent.?) it was also said on certain chief fasting days, in Lent, on Ember days etc.[8] We may get a rough idea of the old liturgical days of our rite by seeing when a special Mass is provided in the *Proprium de Tempore* of the Missal. Now we have arrived at the stage of having only two aliturgical days in the year, Good Friday and Holy Saturday.[9] Such days are commoner in the East. In the Byzantine rite, for instance, all weekdays of Lent except Saturdays and Maundy Thursday are aliturgical.[10] So also in the Milanese rite all Fridays in Lent are still strictly aliturgical days.

[1] *De Oratione*, vi, M.P.L. i, 1160.
[2] Ep. liv, (P.L. iii, 857), *de Orat. dom.* 18 (P.L. iv, 531).
[3] Socrates, H.E. v, 22.
[4] Innocent I Ep. ad Decentium, 4 (P.L. xx, 555-556).
[5] Apost. Const. VIII, 33 etc. [6] Socrates, *loc. cit.*
[7] Sozomen, H.E. vii, 19.
[8] This question is discussed by Duchesne: *Origines du Culte*, pp. 218-225. Fr. Thurston thinks that Gregory I rearranged the Lenten liturgical system and appointed Masses for every day in Lent save Thursdays (*Lent and Holy Week*, 154).
[9] Holy Saturday is really aliturgical; it has no Mass of its own, though now we anticipate the first Easter Mass on its morning. But till quite recently no one went to Communion.
[10] On Wednesdays and Fridays they have the liturgy of the Presanctified.

But in any case before the middle ages Mass was not said more than once on the same day. The bishop or chief person celebrated, the rest of the clergy assisted, received Communion, perhaps concelebrated.[1] The East has still kept this principle and so has no provision for anything corresponding to our Low Mass.[2] The old principle of one altar only in a church is still kept in the Eastern rites and is said to have remained for a long time in places in the West.

The older system of assistance and communion or concelebration was replaced in the early middle ages by a separate Mass said apart by each priest. This change, which had far reaching effects on liturgy, Canon Law, even Church architecture, was the result of theological speculation. Each Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice has a definite value before God; therefore two Masses are worth twice as much as one. In the West the compacts made between the various monasteries, from the VIIIth cent. onwards to offer a definite number of Masses for deceased members had the most decisive influence on the practice of private celebration.[3] The custom of saying each Mass for a definite intention and the acceptance of a stipend for so doing naturally helped in the same direction. No doubt devotion, the pious wish to accomplish so great a work as often as possible influenced priests in the same way. We hear of isolated cases of daily celebration as early as the VIth century. St. Gregory I says of Cassius, Bishop of Narni in Umbria, that he "was accustomed

[1] See above the description from *Ordo Rom.* I, (pp. 174-177).

[2] The Uniates in most rites have adopted (under Latin influence) an awkward compromise more or less like our Low Mass—without a deacon; but they still want at least two assistants, one who is the "choir" and one for the incense etc. In small Orthodox churches too one may occasionally see a liturgy managed as best they can without a deacon.

[3] See A. Ebner, *Gebets-Verbrüderungen*, etc., Regensburg, 1890.

to offer to God a daily sacrifice".[1] In the following centuries the custom spread widely. Cardinal Bona, distinguishing between private Masses (with one or two assistants) and solitary Masses (said with no one present but the priest), maintains that private Masses have been celebrated from the earliest age, but that solitary Masses were a later concession made to communities of monks.[2]

By the IXth century the multiplication of Masses had progressed so far that many priests said Mass several times the same day. Walafrid Strabo notes this and adds that Pope Leo III (795-816) sometimes celebrated as often as nine times on one day.[3] Honorius of Autun (XIIth cent.) says that one Mass each day is the rule, but as many as three or four may be said.[4] However by the XIIIth century the excessive multiplication of Masses began to be forbidden. From that time a number of Synods forbid a priest to celebrate more than once a day, except at Christmas and in the case of necessity (bination on Sundays and feast-days).[5]

This multiplication of Masses led to building many altars in a church; in a large monastery, if every priest said Mass daily, they had to do so often at the same time at different altars. It also led to the abridged service we call Low Mass. Obviously a choir, ministers and assistance could not be provided for each celebration, so a compromise was allowed by which the celebrant himself took the part of deacon and sub-

[1] *Dialog.* iv, 56 (P.L. lxxvi, 421). [2] *Rerum liturg.* i, 13, 14.
[3] *de eccl. rerum exord.* 21 (P.L. cxiv, 943).
[4] *Gemma animæ* i, 114 (P.L. clxxii, 581).
[5] Thalhofer: *Handbuch der Kath. Liturgik* (Freiburg, 1893) ii, 337 quotes a Law in England under Edgar (in 969): "Nullus sacerdos sæpius missam uno die celebret quam ter ad summum". In 1200 a Synod of Westminster forbade two masses except in case of necessity (Can. 2); so also a Synod of Rouen in 1213 (Hardouin, vii, 186). See Durandus: *Rationale* IV, i, § 25.

deacon, one acolyte that of the other ministers; the choir's part was divided between these two. The ceremonies were simplified, some were left out altogether and everything was said in the speaking voice. There does not seem to be any definite record of the introduction of this simplified service. No doubt, as Cardinal Bona says, isolated cases of private celebration go back to very early times.[1] In these the ritual would necessarily be simplified. There was no Congregation of Rites to determine every detail. In such cases of private celebration as much of the normal rite was done as was possible, at the discretion of the celebrant; so gradually, no doubt with many local variations, our principles for Low Mass were evolved. The Missal of Pius V (1570) recognized Low Mass and arranged its order definitely. But long before that mediæval missals give occasional directions as alternatives when there was no deacon nor choir.

It was Low Mass that caused the compilation of missals. In the earlier period, as we have seen (p. 116), the books were arranged for the people who used them. The priest's book was the Sacramentary, containing his part of Mass and other services. He did not need to have the lessons nor antiphons in his book, as he did not say them. But at a private celebration he did say these parts, himself substituting for the absent ministers and choir. So books had to be arranged containing these parts too. Such a book was called *Missale plenarium*, giving the text of the whole Mass. Its introduction marks the period when Low Mass was becoming a common practice. As early as the VIth century there are Sacramentaries which show the beginning of this development; by the IXth century

[1] He quotes Tertullian: *de fuga*, 14 (P.L. ii, 120) who says that three assistants are enough in case of need; St. Paulinus of Nola († c. 431) said Mass in his bed-room when dying, St. Ambrose celebrated in a private house, and so on. (*Rerum liturg.* I, xiv).

certain *Missæ quotidianæ*, most often used, and the Common Masses of Saints are often provided with Epistle, Gospel and the choir's part. From the Xth century the perfect *Missale plenarium* begins;[1] from the XIIIth it rapidly becomes the only book used.[2] The *Missale secundum consuetudinem romanæ curiæ* spread everywhere with the final triumph of the Roman rite; one hears no more of Sacramentaries.[3] Low Mass then reacted on High Mass. Originally the celebrant said or sang his part and listened, like everyone else, to the other parts—the lessons, gradual and so on.[4] Later, having become used to saying these other parts at Low Mass (in which he had to take the place of ministers and choir himself), he began to say them at High Mass too. So we have our present arrangement that the celebrant also repeats in a low voice at the altar whatever is sung by the ministers and choir.[5]

The distinction between High and Low Mass (*Missa solemnis* and *privata*) is the most important of those we notice here. A Pontifical Mass (whether High or Low) has certain special rites, of which some are older survivals,[6] some later embellishments, made

[1] See Ebner: *Quellen u. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale* (Freiburg, 1896). He quotes as the earliest perfect missal a MS. in the Ambrosian library at Milan (Cod. lat. 77); it is of the Xth cent.

[2] Ebner, *loc. cit.* 359 seq.

[3] In the Eastern rites, as we have noticed (p. 116) the older arrangement is still kept. An εὐχολόγιον is not a missal, but a sacramentary. Only the Maronites, who are considerably Romanized, have a book that one can compare with our missal, and they have a fully developed Low Mass.

[4] In the Amiens Sacramentary and some other similar books he is directed, while the choir are singing the *Sanctus*, to say a long private prayer: Deus qui non mortem, etc. See Netzer: *Introduction de la Messe romaine*, p. 235.

[5] Except the short answers, such as "Et cum spiritu tuo" etc. which it would be absurd for him to say too.

[6] A Pontifical High Mass keeps the distinction between the Mass of the Catechumens and that of the Faithful, otherwise quite obscured

merely to express the greater dignity of a bishop. A Papal High Mass has further peculiarities, some very archaic and interesting, but beyond the scope of this book. Our so-called *Missa Cantata* is the compromise of a compromise, a Low Mass, with singing as at High Mass, only justifiable to enhance the dignity of Sunday Mass when a deacon and subdeacon cannot be had.[1] The *Mass of the Presanctified* (Missa præsanctificatorum, λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων) is a Communion service made with the Holy Eucharist reserved from a former celebration. It was once common in East and West and was used on days on which for some reason a real Mass was not said. It is approved as an ancient custom (in the East) by the Quinisextum Synod (692; Can. 52); Leo Allatius traces it back to the Synod of Laodicea in 314.[2] In the Byzantine rite it is used on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, the three first weekdays of Holy Week and certain Saints' days in Lent. In the West, Mgr. Duchesne says, "at the time when the Synaxis without liturgy was common the Mass of the Presanctified must have been common too".[3] Now we have it only on Good Friday. But our distribution of Holy Communion without Mass is really the same thing reduced to its simplest possible form. The *Conventual* or *Chapter Mass* (Missa conventualis or capitularis) is not a special kind. It is simply the official Mass (and should be always a High Mass) said in Churches which are bound to have the whole office every day (that is Cathedrals, Collegiate churches and

in the Roman rite. Namely the Pontiff is at his throne during the first part and goes to the altar at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful (the Offertory).

[1] And the practice of saying a Low Mass while the choir sings bits of things is too dreadful to be described.

[2] *de Missa præsanct.*, appendix to his: *de Ecclesiæ occid. et orient. perp. consensione* (Köln, 1648).

[3] *Origines du Culte*, p. 239.

those of religious orders that have the office in public). It forms with the Canonical hours the complete public worship of God. Its normal place is after Terce; on Simples and Ferias after Sext, on fast days after None. These are the kinds that have survived. In the middle ages we hear of other kinds of Masses, mostly abuses that in time were forbidden. Many Synods [1] forbid *missæ solitariæ*, at which no one assists. The *dry Mass* (missa sicca) consisted of the prayers of Mass without the essential part (without offertory, consecration, communion). It was a favourite devotion for occasions when a real Mass could not be said, for instance at weddings or funerals in the afternoon. In some monasteries the rule was for each monk after the conventual Mass to say a missa sicca in his cell. Guy of Mont Rocher in his *Manipulus Curatorum* (about 1333) is generally said to have introduced the dry Mass.[2] Or perhaps rather he popularized it. His form contains the abominable superstition of elevating relics instead of the Blessed Sacrament. A *Missa nautica* was a dry Mass used at sea, where the rolling of the ship made the real Mass dangerous or impossible. It is said that St. Lewis of France (1226-1270) on his way back from his crusade had the Blessed Sacrament reserved on his ship; every day the divine office and Mass without the Canon was said. [3] A *hunting Mass* (Missa venatoria) was again a dry Mass said for hunters in a hurry. Durandus († 1296) describes and approves of the Missa sicca;[4] Cardinal Bona († 1674) says:

[1] Synod of Mainz in 813, and others quoted by Bona, *Rerum liturg.* i, 13.

[2] Wickham Legg: *Three Chapters in Recent Liturgical Research* (S.P.C.K., 1903).

[3] Bona, *op. cit.*, 118; this looks more like Mass of the Presanctified.

[4] *Rationale*, IV, i. 23. He describes two different kinds, a simpler form (Epistle, Gospel, Lord's Prayer and blessing, said with a stole only) and a fuller one (all except the Canon, said with full vestments).

"Now, I think, it is everywhere abolished and removed by the zealous care of the bishops".[1] But the Carthusians have a so-called *Nudum Officium*, which is simply a dry Mass. This was printed in their Office books (in the office of the B.V.M. after Prime) at least down to the XVIIIth century. Milan has a kind of dry Mass[2] on Good Friday (not of the Presanctified) and Holy Saturday. Till the middle of the XIXth century the Rogation procession at Milan made a station with Catechumen's Mass at twelve different churches in the city. Burchard in his *Ordo Missæ* (Rome, 1502) describes the Roman form of Missa sicca.[3] The worst abuses were the *double* and *triple* Masses (Missæ bifaciatæ or trifaciatæ) in which the celebrant said Mass from the beginning to the Preface several times, then joined one canon to all. It was done to satisfy several intentions on one day and was plainly dishonest, as well as liturgically monstrous, since really of course only one Mass was said. Card. Bona notes this as in his time an extinct abuse and says truly that such Masses "as being monstrous, repugnant to the institution and custom of the Church, are to be reproved and detested".[4]

§ 5. Mediæval and Later Commentators.

All through the middle ages, from the VIIth century to the Reformation, and then again to our own time, there have been numbers of theologians who discussed, explained and commented on the ritual of the Mass. Many of these are frequently quoted, some have evolved theories that still obtain in books of devotion and

[1] *Rerum liturg.* I, xv, 6.

[2] Or rather the Missa Catechumenorum alone.

[3] Reprinted by Dr. Wickham Legg: *op. cit.* 30-31. The Roman blessing of palms is a classical example of dry Mass.

[4] *Rerum liturg.* I, xv, 7. Durandus had already called them "detestabiles" (*loc. cit.*). More about these kind of Masses will be found in Wickham Legg: *Three Chapters* (*op. cit.*), pp. 25-44.

popular explanations of the ceremonies. It will then be useful to name some of the most important, fixing their periods.

St. Isidore of Seville († 636) may perhaps be counted the first of these mediæval commentators on the liturgy.[1] His two books *de Ecclesiasticis officiis*[2] are a regular textbook of liturgiology; they treat of the services, chants, buildings, instruments and persons. The work, naturally, is important chiefly for the Spanish rite. We have already mentioned the series of anonymous *Ordines Romani* extending from the VIIIth to the XVth century, most valuable sources for ritual at Rome (see p. 125). In the VIIIth and IXth centuries under Charles the Great (768-814) and his first successors there was a flourishing school of liturgiologists who describe the rites of their time, especially the Roman use then spreading throughout the Frankish kingdom. *Alcuin* of York (Alhwin, Alcuinus),[3] the learned friend and counsellor of Charles the Great, is the chief of these. He came to the Frankish king's court in 780, retired to the monastery of St. Martin at Tours in 796 and died there in 804.[4] His influence on the Roman rite we still use is mentioned above (p. 122). His work consisted mainly in revising, editing and supplementing the Roman service books.[5] *Amalarius af Metz* († c. 850), sometime Bishop of Trier[6] wrote: *Eclogæ de officio missæ*,[7] a description of

[1] Before him we have St. Ambrose († 397): *de Mysteriis* and the author of the treatise *de Sacramentis* (pp. 128-132) who explained the liturgy in the West. Besides these there are only the allusions in letters and other documents (Innocent I, Gregory I, etc.) already quoted, and the first Sacramentaries themselves.

[2] Written in 610; in P.L. lxxxiii, 737-826.

[3] At the court of Charles he changed his name to Flaccus Albinus; but the form Alcuin eventually prevailed.

[4] See the article *Alcuin* in the *Dictionnaire d archéologie*, i, 1072-1092.

[5] P.L. c, ci. [6] *Dict. d'archéologie:* Amalaire, i, 1323-1330.

[7] P.L cv, 1315-1332.

the Roman pontifical Mass and *de Ecclesiastiis Officiis.*[1] In him we find already the symbolic interpretations beloved by the mediæval commentators. A certain response on Wednesday in Holy Week has five verses because Adam had five senses, another, on Good Friday, has four because our Lord's body was composed of the four elements,[2] and so on. *Agobard Bishop of Lyons* († 840)[3] was Amalarius' bitter opponent; he proposed a reform of the liturgy, not in the Roman sense, and wanted it to consist of texts of Scripture only. His chief works are *de divina Psalmodia*, *de Correctione antiphonarii* and *Contra libros iv Amalarii abbatis.*[4] *Florus*, deacon at Lyons, Agobard's friend and partisan, wrote an *Opusculum de expositione Missæ.*[5] *Hrabanus Maurus* (*de Officiis divinis*)[6] and *Walafrid Strabo* (*de Ecclesiasticarum rerum exordiis et incrementis*)[7] are also valuable for our knowledge of their time (IXth cent.).

In the XIth cent. the *Micrologus*,[8] by Bernold Abbot of Schaffhausen († 1100),[9] explains the Roman rite of that time and is not without value for earlier centuries. *Rupert, Abbot of Deutz*,[10] (Rupertus Tuitiensis), in the XIIth cent., wrote *de divinis Officiis libri xii*,[11] of which Abbot Cabrol says that it is a "compilation with no originality".[12] In the same century *Honorius of Autun* wrote his *Gemma animæ* and a treatise: *de Sacramentis.*[13] The *Gemma animæ* is a devotional and mystic explana-

[1] *Ib.* 985-1242.
[2] *Ib.* 1011.
[3] *Dict. d'arch.* Agobard, i., 971-979.
[4] P.L. civ, 323-350.
[5] P.L. clx, 1053-1070.
[6] P.L. cvii, 295-419.
[7] P L. cxiv, 916-966.
[8] P.L. cli, 973-1022.
[9] Author of other liturgical works. See Dom. G. Morin: *Que l'auteur du Micrologue est Bernold de Constance* (*Revue Bénédictine*, viii, 1891, pp. 385-395). He was the friend and apologist of St. Gregory VII.
[10] Opposite Köln.
[11] P.L. clxx, 9-334.
[12] *Introduction aux Études liturgiques*, 37.
[13] P.L. clxxii, 543-806.

tion of the Mass, very popular in the middle ages. *John Beleth* (XIIth cent.) wrote a *Rationale divinorum officiorum*,[1] a standard authority for that time. *Durandus*, Bishop of Mende († 1296), is the best-known and perhaps the most useful of all these mediæval liturgiologists. His *Rationale divinorum officiorum* [2] had an enormous vogue; it was the standard work for centuries. It contains in eight books a complete account of the divine service and things connected therewith, with symbolic and mystic interpretations. It is invaluable as giving an exact account of the Roman rite in the XIIIth century and of the ideas people then had about it.

This statement applies, more or less, to all these mediæval writers. Their chief value is that they tell us what was done at their time (hence the importance of knowing their date). In the earlier ones especially, their country should be noticed too. But their archæology is, naturally, naïve and often infantine. A scientific study of origins had not begun. They assume the rite they know as a matter of course and explain it by most curious mystical interpretations. What they say on that subject is valuable only as showing the ideas of their time.

The revival of learning brought a new spirit into the study of liturgy, as of other things, and the Reformation made the defence of our rites a crying need. While the sectaries wantonly threw overboard the old Roman Mass, replacing it by their own heretical services, Catholics defended it by a scientific study of its origins. From the XVIth century we have works on the Mass whose archæology may be taken seriously.

[1] P.L. ccii, 14-166.

[2] First printed by Fust and Schöffer at Mainz in 1459, then by Günther Zainer at Augsburg 1470 and repeatedly by the early printers latest edition at Naples 1859.

A number of scholars edited collections of earlier works or texts of liturgies; so *John Cochlæus* (Cochlée),[1] *Claude de Sainctes*, Bishop of Êvreux,[2] *Pamelius* (James de Pamèle, Canon of Brussels),[3] *Melchior Hittorp* (Dean at Köln)[4] and others. *Jodocus Clichtovaeus* (Clichtove, Canon of Chartres) was the first, after the Reformation, to compose a complete commentary on the Mass and the office.[5] In the XVII century the learned Barnabite *B. Gavantus* (Gavanti), one of the commissioners under Clement VIII and Urban VIII for the revision of the breviary (1638), wrote works that are still recognized classics,[6] Dom *Hugh Ménard* O.S.B. edited the Gregorian Sacramentary.[7] We come then to a galaxy of writers who make the XVI and XVII centuries the golden age of liturgical study. The Oratorian *John Morin* († 1659) besides works on the Bible, Oriental languages and Church History wrote commentaries on the discipline of Penance and on Holy Orders.[8] Cardinal *Joseph Tomasi* (Thomasius), O. Theat. († 1713)[9] edited a number of Roman and Gallican Sacramentaries[10] and wrote many valuable works on liturgy.[11] Cardinal *John Bona*, O. Cist. († 1674) is an important liturgical authority. His little ascetic treatise: *de Sacrificio*

[1] *Speculum antiquæ devotionis* (Mainz, 1549) containing Amalarius, Strabo, Micrologus, etc.

[2] *Liturgiæ sive missæ sanctorum patrum* (Antwerp, 1662); the first collection of Eastern liturgies.

[3] *Liturgica latinorum* (Köln, 1571), documents of the Roman, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic liturgies.

[4] *De cath. Ecclesiæ divinis officiis* (Köln, 1568), a collection of mediæval commentaries.

[5] *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum* (Paris, 1516).

[6] *Thesaurus sacrorum rituum* (Milan 1628, often reprinted) and other works.

[7] Paris, 1642, reprinted in P.L. lxxviii, 13-582. See p.

[8] *Commentarius de S. Ecclesiæ ordinationibus* (Paris, 1655)

[9] He was beatified by Pius VII in 1803.

[10] *Codices sacramentorum nongentis annis vetustiores* (Rome, 1680

[11] *Opera omnia*, ed. Vezzosi (Rome, 11 vols., 1748-1769).

Missæ[1] is known to every priest. The student will find much valuable matter in his *Rerum liturgicarum libri duo.*[2] The Benedictines of the French congregation of Saint Maurus, who did so much for the study of the Fathers in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, also take a foremost place among liturgical authorities of that time. Dom *John Mabillon* († 1707), among the prolific works of his vast erudition, edited the Bobbio Missal and Sixteen Ordines romani in his *Musæum Italicum*,[3] the Luxeuil lectionary and other documents of the Gallican rite in his *Liturgia Gallicana*[4] and wrote other works of importance on liturgical subjects.[5] Dom *Edmund Martène* († 1739) continued Mabillon's work. His *de antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*[6] and *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiæ disciplina in divinis celebrandis officiis*[7] contain much valuable matter. *Lewis Antony Muratori*, librarian at Modena († 1750), also has a great name as a scholar. His chief liturgical work is the edition of the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries (*Liturgia romana vetus*).[8] *Dom Claude de Vert*, O.S.B. († 1708) as a reaction against the mystic interpretations of the middle ages explained the origin of all ceremonies as mere practical convenience in his: *Explication simple, littérale et historique des cérémonies de l'Église;*[9] he was answered

[1] Rome, 1658; constantly reprinted, e. gr. in Herder's *Bibliotheca ascetica mystica*, ed. A. Lehmkuhl, S.J. (Freiburg, 1906).

[2] Rome, 1671, reprinted Paris 1672, etc. *Opera omnia* Antwerp, 1677, Paris, 1678, etc.

[3] Paris, 1689. [4] Paris, 1685.

[5] His life was written by Ruinart: *Abrégé de la Vie de Dom Jean Mabillon* (Paris, 1709). See also E. de Broglie: *Mabillon et la société de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain* (Paris, 1888).

[6] Rouen, 1700-1702, second edition Antwerp, 1736-1738.

[7] Lyons, 1706. [8] Venice, 1748.

[9] Paris, 1706-1713. To a great extent Dom Claude was certainly right. The origin of most of our ceremonies really was some reason of practical utility. But it is, of course, possibleto urge this idea too far, as he did; for instance the candles on the altar were symbolic from

angrily by the Archbishop of Sens, *John Languet de Gergy* († 1753): *De vero ecclesiæ sensu circa sacrarum cæremoniarum usu.*[1] The Oratorian *Peter Lebrun* († 1729) wrote a large and important work: *L'Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et cérémonies de la messe.*[2] Pope *Benedict XIV* (Prosper Lambertini, 1740-1758) took a great interest in liturgical matters and himself composed a treatise: *De sacrosancto Sacrificio missæ*[3] which is still read. Joseph Bingham in 1708 published a famous work *Origines ecclesiasticæ*[4] on Christian antiquities of all kinds, including the liturgy.

The early XIXth century was barren of liturgical studies. Then we have *Daniel*,[5] *Bunsen*,[6] *Rock*,[7] *Dom Guéranger*[8] and so come to our own time and living authors.[9]

§ 6. Mediæval derived rites.

We have seen that by the XIth or XIIth centuries the Roman rite had expelled all others in the West, except at Milan and Toledo, and had become the one use of the Roman Patriarchate (pp. 177-182). The

the beginning and not put there merely to give light by which to see, and so on.

[1] Ed. by J. A. Assemani (Rome, 1757). [2] Paris, 1716-1726.

[3] Originally in Italian; translated into Latin by M. A. de Giacomellis, Padua, 1745, often reprinted, edited by J. Schneider, S.J. Mainz, 1879.

[4] London. [5] *Codex liturgicus eccl. universæ* (Leipzig, 1847).

[6] *Analecta antenicæna*, vol. iii: *Reliquiæ liturgicæ* (London, 1854).

[7] *Hierurgia* (London, 1840); *The Church of our Fathers* (London, 1849-1853; new edition by Hart and Frere, 1905).

[8] *Institutions liturgiques* (Paris, 1885), *L'Année liturgique* (Paris, 1841 seq.).

[9] A much longer list of liturgical authors will be found in Cabrol: *Introduction aux Études liturgiques* (Paris, 1907). See also Hurter: *Nomenclator litterarius*, vols. i-iii (1564-1894), iv (1109-1563) Innsbruck, 1892-1899. I have not mentioned such authors as Leo Allatius, Renaudot, the Assemani, etc., who wrote of Eastern rites.

next development is the evolution of the late mediæval derived rites.

In absorbing elements of the other liturgies it displaced, the Roman rite was not affected in the same way everywhere. The Gallican influence naturally varied to some extent in different countries. Moreover there was no such ideal of exact uniformity in liturgy as we have now. Communication between countries was rarer and more difficult; most priests never left their own diocese; nor were laws so centralized as with us.

So local bishops admitted local modifications; certain prayers for instance at the celebrant's Communion would become popular in one diocese though unknown in another, local feasts would naturally be kept with special pomp in certain places, decorative ceremonies, processions, blessings and such like would become specialities of certain churches.[1] Then the influence of some central churches would affect their neighbours. The clergy of the country round and even of neighbouring dioceses would follow the use of some famous city, that is the Roman rite as used in that city.[2] So we have the various mediæval derived rites. There were very many of them. Almost every diocese had some local peculiarities; all the mediæval period is full of continual action and reaction, mutual influence and the grouping of dioceses under the leadership of some centre. Of these almost endless local variations of the Roman rite many became famous and eventually were followed by large areas. There were the rites of Lyons, Paris, Rouen, Trier, Köln, Salisbury, York and so on. But none of them ever

[1] Such local ceremonies often arose from the presence of some local shrine or even from the architecture or furniture of the church.

[2] All this is only again the working of the natural instincts that produced different rites long ago; see pp. 76-78.

became really new liturgies. There were too many books, the use of Rome was too well known and too venerated to allow of the formation of really different rites, as in the old days when the use of Antioch gave birth to the Byzantine and Armenian liturgies. This mediæval development represents a middle stage between the old independent rites and the present rigid uniformity. It would be a gross mistake to imagine the uses of Lyons, Paris or Salisbury as really separate rites, essentially different from that of Rome. It confuses the whole issue to represent them as on a level with the old Gallican rite or to compare their position with that of Milan or Toledo. The Gallican, Ambrosian and Mozarabic liturgies are really independent, with no more connection with Rome than there is always between any Christian services.[1] But Lyons, Sarum and so on are merely local varieties of the Roman rite. The whole construction of the Roman Mass is unchanged; all the really important parts are the same. They are merely the Roman rite with quite unimportant local variations. They can indeed hardly be called derived rites; if one may take a parallel from philology one may describe them best as dialects of the Roman rite.[2] And all are much later in origin and form than the pure Roman rite to which we have returned. Their differences are merely exuberant additions; nearly all are highly decorated. They have, of course, local feasts and then curious symbolic ceremonies, copious processions, farced texts, additional and very long prayers and chants, a plethora of extra Sequences, Prefaces, hymns and so on. Often these mediæval additions are much too ornate, many

[1] Supposing, of course, that the origin of these is not Roman, as we have supposed above (pp. 100-101).

[2] This parallel makes the situation clear. To distinguish the Roman, Sarum and Mozarabic liturgies on the same plane is like classifying English, Yorkshire dialect and French as three languages.

ruin the meaning of the simpler ceremonies that were no longer understood. [1]

There were derived rites, or rather local forms of the Roman rite with various amounts of special ceremonies and prayers, all over Western Europe during the Middle Ages. Some were more important as being the customs of famous cities, some went much further than others in their modifications. But it would be a mistake to suppose that there were a small number of admitted non-Roman uses, each followed in a large area. The examination of mediæval missals and rituals shows that practically every cathedral had some liturgical practices of its own.[2] Many religious orders too had their own customs. The monastic rite (also a form of the Roman) affects the divine office rather than the Mass; the Dominican,[3] Carmelite and Carthusian uses that survive are the best known cases.

The local rite of Salisbury (*usus Sarum*), which a century or two before the Reformation spread over most of Southern England and did not disappear till the law of Pius V (1570) was enforced in the English seminaries abroad,[4] will supply a good example of a

[1] For instance, in the Sarum rite on Palm Sunday they uncovered the rood, carried the Blessed Sacrament in the procession and strewed flowers about. They threw unconsecrated hosts, "singing breads," among the choir-boys. Their Holy Week ceremonies may be studied in H. J. Feasey: *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial* (London, 1897) and H. Thurston: *Lent and Holy Week* (London, 1904). It is very curious, rather barbarous, much too ornate, immeasurably less dignified than ours now, anything in the world rather than archaic or primitive.

[2] I have, for instance, a XIVth cent. missal of Limoges that has a number of such local peculiarities, all of course imbedded in the Roman Mass. One does not hear much about the Limoges rite, but it is as much one as that of Sarum.

[3] The Dominican Mass is a typical example. It has a few more Gallican or Eastern practices than the usual Roman Mass; for instance the preparation of the bread and wine before Mass begins. But it is essentially Roman all through.

[4] Dr. Edwin Burton is kind enough to give me details of what happened at Douay. From Dec. 1576 to Apr. 1577 the students studied

mediæval derived rite and will show how little the parent liturgy of Rome was modified in it. First Sarum had feasts of its own (English Saints); its propers (Introits, Graduals, etc.) were not always the same as those we now have. The actual texts sung on the various days varied all over Europe; so also the lessons. An Introit, Epistle and so on came always in the same place; but whether, for instance, the Introit of the fourth Sunday of Advent was *Rorate cæli*, as in the present missal, or *Memento nostri*, as at Salisbury, is a detail of small liturgical importance. There were a vast number of sequences all through the year, as there were everywhere, most of which the reform of Pius V ejected, keeping the five best.[1] There were little details of names; the Introit was generally (not in all Sarum books) called *officium*. The Creed was said rather oftener than now. Sarum counted Sundays not after Pentecost, but after Trinity, a late and altogether indefensible practice.[2] The colours of the vestments are hardly worth mentioning. All sequences of colours are late;[3] in the middle ages there

the (to them) unfamiliar Roman rite (according to Pius V's missal) under the direction of Dr. Lawrence Webbe, who had come from Rome to teach it. George Godsalf, ordained on Dec. 20, 1576, must have been the first English priest to say Mass according to the reformed Missal. A notice of Dr. Webbe's instructions is in the Douay diary for 23 Apr. 1577 (*Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws*, London, 1878, p. 118).

[1] Below pp. 275-276.

[2] The feast of the Holy Trinity is itself a late addition to the Calendar, introduced gradually since about the Xth century (approved for Rome by John XXII in 1334: see Kellner: *Heortologie*, Freiburg, 1901, pp. 76-77). It is moreover an additional *feast*, not a *Sunday*, no part of the organic cycle, but falling on the first Sunday after Pentecost (which still has its own office), as the feast of the Holy Name falls on the second Sunday after Epiphany. The old sacramentaries count the Sundays after the three Cardinal feasts, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, long before there was a Trinity feast. We keep the old and organic division of the year. This example will serve to show how little Sarum was archaic or primitive.

[3] Since the end of the XII cent. (J. Braun: *Die liturgische Gewand-*

was no kind of uniformity in this matter. Even the English churches that followed Sarum used all manner of combinations; and there was everywhere the custom of wearing the handsomest vestments, of any colour, for great feasts.[1]

Turning to more important matters, we find that the Sarum Mass differed from our present Roman Mass in these points only: Kyrie eleison, Pater, Ave and a versicle were inserted before the Confiteor, which was shorter than ours. A kiss of peace was given to the deacon and subdeacon before going up to the altar. The Kyrie was often farced, as everywhere in the middle ages. The prayers at the Offertory were rather shorter and the offertory of bread and wine was made by one act. When the celebrant washed his hands, he said, not the psalm Lavabo, but another prayer: "Munda me Domine" etc. He bowed instead of genuflecting at the elevation and stretched out his arms at *Unde et memores.* The particle was put in the chalice after *Agnus Dei.* The prayers at the Communion vary, there is no mention of the blessing at the end of Mass, the celebrant said the last gospel (as bishops still do) on the way back to the sacristy.[2]

That is all. It will be seen that these slight differences are all connected with the later parts of the Mass, in which there was variety in the Roman rite throughout the middle ages. In everything of any

ung, Freiburg, 1907, pp. 729-731). The Eastern Churches have still no idea of liturgical colours.

[1] E. G. Atchley: *Liturgical Colours* in V. Staley: *Essays on Ceremonial* (London, 1904), 89-176.

[2] *Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesiæ Sarum*, ed. by F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland, 1861-1883; Ordinarium Missæ, 577-638. Rock: *Church of our Fathers*, ed. by G. W. Hart and W. H. Frere. London, 1905, iv. 135-228. W. H. Frere: *The Use of Sarum.* I, The Sarum Customs, Cambridge, 1898. T. E. Bridgett: *A History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, ed. by H. Thurston, London, 1908, 80-93.

importance at all Sarum (and all other mediæval rites) was simply Roman, the rite which we still use. Not only was the whole order and arrangement the same, all the important prayers were the same too. The essential element, the Canon, was word for word the same as ours. No mediæval bishop dared to touch the sacred Eucharistic prayer. We must remember that the important elements of a rite are not the things that will first be noticed by a casual and ignorant onlooker—the number of candles, colour of the vestments and the places where the bell is rung—but just those things he would not notice, the Canon, fraction and so on, the prayers said in a low voice and the characteristic but less obvious rites done by the celebrant at the altar. It is then quite accurate to say that from the time of the Synod of Cloveshoe in 747 to the Reformation, the Roman rite was used throughout England; though we may add the further detail that it was used in slightly modified local forms.[1]

§ 7. The Reform of Pius V (1570).

The Protestant Reformers naturally played havoc with the old liturgy. It was throughout the expression of the very ideas (the Real Presence, Eucharistic

[1] Dr. Rock's Anglican editors supply a notable example of the point of view just deprecated. They tell us that "if the learned author were alive now and wished to find examples of the old English ways which were so dear to him, he would have to go to the Churches of the Establishment rather than to those of the Roman Catholic body" (*op. cit.* iv, 300). That is to say, many High Church Anglicans now use an older shape of chasuble, light two candles instead of six and so on. And people think that these little details of external ornament make a rite. The Communion Service in the Anglican Prayerbook is essentially a new service made up by the Reformers; its chief element, the Consecration prayer, is adopted from a Lutheran form. It has hardly more in common with the Sarum form of our Roman Mass than have the Lutheran Communion services. You do not turn it into a Sarum Mass by tacking on alien ornaments or by using red on Good Friday.

Sacrifice and so on) they rejected. So they substituted for it new Communion services that expressed their principle but, of course, broke away utterly from all historic liturgical evolution. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) in opposition to the anarchy of these new services wished the Roman Mass to be celebrated uniformly everywhere. The mediæval local uses had lasted long enough. They had become very florid and exuberant; and their variety caused confusion. It would be better for all Roman Catholics[1] to go back to an older and simpler form of the Roman rite. In its eighteenth session (16 Febr. 1562) the Council appointed a commission to examine the missal, to revise it and restore its earlier form. At the close of the council (4 Dec. 1563) the commission had not yet finished its work, so further proceedings were left to the Pope (Pius IV, 1559-1565). The commission consisted of Cardinal Bernadine Scotti, Thomas Goldwell, the last Catholic Bishop of St. Asaph (both Theatines) and others, including Cardinal William Sirlet and Giulio Poggi. They accomplished their task very well. It was not to make a new missal, but to restore the existing one "according to the custom and rite of the holy Fathers," using for that purpose the best manuscripts and other documents. Pius IV died before the work was finished; it was ended under Pius V (1566-1572). On July 14, 1570, the Pope published the reformed missal by the Bull *Quo primum*, still printed

[1] Using the name *Roman* for the rite, as we do other place-names (Byzantine, Armenian, Coptic etc.), we are all Roman Catholics in the West, except the faithful of Milan, Toledo and the Byzantine parishes in Southern Italy, Corsica etc. A man of Toledo, who uses or frequents the local liturgy, is not a Roman but a Mozarabic Catholic (certain families have this distinction). Uniates in the East are Catholics but not Roman. "Roman Catholic Greek" is nearly as absurd as "Roman Catholic Nestorian". These people are Byzantine and East Syrian Catholics. Strictly the Milanese and Toletans are Uniates too.

at its beginning. Its title was: *Missale Romanum ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini restitutum.* The Bull commands that this missal alone be used wherever the Roman rite is followed. No one, of whatever rank he be, shall use any other. "All rites from other missals, however old, hitherto observed, being in future left out and entirely abandoned, Mass shall be sung or said according to the rite, manner and standard which is given in this missal; nor in celebrating Mass shall anyone dare to add or recite other ceremonies or prayers than those that are contained herein." That made an end of the mediæval derived rites. But the Pope made one important exception. The Bull allowed any rite to be kept that could show a prescription of at least two centuries. This rule saved some modified uses. A few dioceses, as Lyons, kept and still keep their local forms; so also some religious orders, notably the Dominicans, Carmelites and Carthusians. What is much more important is that the exception saved what was left of really independent rites at Milan and Toledo.[1]

The student of liturgy may regret the expulsion of the old Gallican rite in the VIIIth and IXth centuries; but from what has been said it is clear that we need not waste a sigh over the extinction of the mediæval uses in the XVIth. Those late exuberant modifications of the old Roman rite only made way for it in its purer form. To contrast "ancient Sarum" with the "modern Roman" is absurd. The rite re-

[1] These are, it will be remembered on quite a different plane from such modifications of Rome as Sarum. They are really separate rites; it would have been deplorable if they had disappeared. A good many mediæval uses that might no doubt have claimed a prescription of two centuries did not do so, presumably because bishops preferred to conform to St. Pius' Missal, England could no doubt have claimed a prescription for Sarum (see p. 202, n. 4). I have heard (but cannot verify the statement) that in James II's reign many priests did restore and use the Sarum rite.

stored by Pius V is the old one, essentially more archaic and venerable than the mediæval developments. Uniformity in liturgy throughout the Church has never been a Catholic ideal. No one wants to replace the Eastern liturgies, or even those of Milan and Toledo, by Rome. But it is a reasonable ideal that those who use the Roman rite should use it uniformly in a pure form.[1]

The missal of Pius V is the one we still use. Later revisions are of slight importance. No doubt in every reform one may find something that one would have preferred not to change. Still, a just and reasonable criticism will admit that Pius V's restoration was on the whole eminently satisfactory. The standard of the commission was antiquity. They abolished later ornate features and made for simplicity, yet without destroying all those picturesque elements that add poetic beauty to the severe Roman Mass. They expelled the host of long sequences that crowded Mass continually, but kept what are undoubtedly the five best (p. 276); they reduced processions and elaborate ceremonial, yet kept the really pregnant ceremonies, candles, ashes, palms and the beautiful Holy Week rites. Certainly we in the West may be very glad that we have the Roman rite in the form of Pius V's missal.

§ 8. Later revisions and modern times.

Three times again since Pius V the missal has been revised; we are now at the eve of a fourth revision. By the time of Clement VIII (1592-1605) printers had corrupted the text in several ways. Pius V had left the biblical chants in the form of the Itala. In many editions these texts had been modified to agree with

[1] Pure compared with the mediæval accretions. We have seen that this pure form already had Gallican and other foreign elements (p. 183)

the Vulgate of 1592, and other corruptions had crept in. Clement VIII therefore appointed a commission to revise the missal once more. It consisted of Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, of Gavanti (p. 197) and four others. Their work was only to correct these corruptions. They did not in any way modify the Mass. The Pope published this second revised missal by the Bull *Cum Sanctissimum* of July 7, 1604.[1] Urban VIII (1623-1644) again appointed a commission, whose chief work was to simplify and make clearer the rubrics. On Sept. 2, 1634 he published his revised missal by the Bull *Si quid est.*[2] Benedict XIV (1740-1758), who did so much for the reform of the liturgy, did not revise the missal.[3] Leo XIII (1878-1903) found it necessary to make a new revision. The great number of new Saints' days and the multiplication of Masses had produced the result that many were never said at all, being always supplanted by others. The Congregation of Rites then reduced some feasts and did something towards simplifying the Calendar. At the same time the rubrics were corrected to accord with various decisions made since Urban VIII. This new edition (the last as far as the text is concerned) was published in 1884. The book we use is therefore: *Missale Romanum ex decreto ss. concilii Tridentini restitutum, S. Pii V Pont. Max. iussu editum, Clementis VIII, Vrbani VIII et Leonis XIII auctoritate recognitum.*

But already Pius X has made a further revision, not of the text, but of the music. The Vatican Gradual of 1906 contains new, or rather restored, forms of the chants sung by the celebrant, therefore to be printed

[1] The second Bull printed at the beginning of the missal.
[2] The third Bull *ib.*
[3] His work affected the Ritual, Pontifical and *Cæremoniale Episcoporum.*

in the missal. Since then the authentic editions of the book are those that contain these chants conformed to the Vatican Gradual. It is further to be expected that when the commission now restoring the Vulgate has finished its work, the lessons[1] in the missal will be conformed to the new text. This will mean a new revision. Meanwhile, since Pius V, a number of dioceses, chiefly in France and Germany, which at first kept their own missals on the strength of a prescription of two centuries, gradually conformed more and more, at last entirely, to the Roman editions. But towards the end of the XVIIth century a contrary tendency began. A number of French bishops composed or authorized new missals and breviaries for their dioceses. These were in no sense relics of the mediæval local rites; they were new compositions, sometimes excellent in their sober scholarship,[2] but often absurd in their pseudo-classic latinity. It was the age of hymns in classical metres, like a schoolboy's Latin verses, when heaven was "Olympus" and hell "Hades"—of which ridiculous time we have still too many traces in our liturgical books. These French[3] offices then represent a new case of the old tendency towards local modification which the Council of Trent had meant to repress. They are commonly attributed to Gallican ideas and are supposed to be not free from Jansenist venom.[4] Some of these local French uses survived almost to our own time. They were supplanted by the Roman books in the XIXth century, chiefly by the exertions of Dom Prosper Guéranger (†1875).[5]

[1] The chants are not in the Vulgate text, see p. 223.

[2] This applies especially to the lessons of these breviaries.

[3] There were others too, notably those of Köln (1780), Münster (1784), Pistoia (1787) etc.

[4] Certainly many of the bishops who approved these offices (de Vintimille of Paris, etc.), were appellants.

[5] The second volume of his *Institutions liturgiques* (Paris, 1841) contains a history of these French offices.

Now, except for the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites, the local forms of Lyons and of a few religious orders, the whole Latin West uses a uniform Roman missal. The only trace of local variety left is the proper Masses of dioceses, provinces and religious orders. These, collected as appendices, affect the Calendar and produce the effect that the same Mass is by no means always said on the same day everywhere.

Since the Council of Trent the history of the Mass is hardly anything but that of the composition and approval of new Masses. The scheme and all the fundamental parts remain the same. No one has thought of touching the venerable liturgy of the Roman Mass, except by adding to it new Propers. There has not even been a new preface[1] or a new *Communicantes* prayer. What has happened is an endless addition of Masses for new feasts. The old order of the Missal consists, first, of the Masses for the course of the Ecclesiastical year, the *Proprium Missarum de tempore*, revolving around Easter,[2] which is supposed to be the normal Calendar. Then follows the *Proprium Missarum de Sanctis*, the feasts (chiefly of Saints) fixed to days of the civil year which occasionally overlapped the regular order "de tempore". Then come the Common Masses, Votive Masses, various additional collects, Requiems and blessings. To this order a constantly growing series of appendices is added. We have Masses to be said "aliquibus in locis" (a large group), new Votive Masses, a further appendix for the province or diocese and sometimes another for the religious order of the celebrant. So

[1] Some local and "Regular" missals have special prefaces; but most of these date from before Pius V. The Benedictine preface for St. Benedict's feast is modern.

[2] Christmas and its cycle (Advent to Epiphany and then to Septuagesima), although fixed by the civil Calendar, are part of the Proprium de tempore. It is so already in the Gregorian Sacramentary.

the Proper of Saints, once an occasional exception, now covers very nearly the whole year, and the search for the Mass to be said has become a laborious process. The old *Kalendarium*, still printed at the beginning of the Missal, is merely a relic of earlier days. It is no more consulted than the directions for finding Easter. We now need a current "Ordo" that tells us which Mass to seek in which appendix. A further complication is caused by the popular modern plan of attaching a feast, not to a day of the month but to some Sunday or Friday. Such feasts are fitted awkwardly among the fixed ones.

The liturgical student cannot but regret that we so seldom use the old offices which are the most characteristic, the most Roman in our rite, of which many go back to the Gelasian or even Leonine book. And merely from an æsthetic point of view there can be no doubt that the old propers are more beautiful than modern compositions. It is these old propers that show the austere dignity of our liturgy, that agree in feeling with the Ordinary and Canon, happily still unaltered. It is the old collects that really are collects [1] and not long florid prayers. A tendency to pile up explanatory allusions,[2] classical forms that savour of Cicero and not at all of the rude simplicity that is real liturgical style, florid rhetoric that would suit the Byzantine rite in Greek rather than our reticent Roman tradition, these things have left too many traces in the later propers. It is astonishing that the people should have so little sense of congruity, apparently never think of following the old tradition, or of harmony with the old ordinary. We obey the

[1] See pp. 249-251.

[2] E. gr.: "Deus qui beatam Iulianam virginem tuam extremo morbo laborantem pretioso Filii tui corpore mirabiliter recreare dignatus es," etc. (Collect of St. Juliana Falconieri, 19 June).

authority of the Church, of course, always. But it is not forbidden to hope for such a Pope again as Benedict XIV who will give us back more of our old Roman Calendar.[1]

Yet, after all, the new Masses have not absorbed the whole year. There are many days still on which we say the Mass that has been said for centuries, back to the days of the Gelasian and Leonine books. And when they do come, the new Masses only affect the Proper. Our Canon is untouched, and all the scheme of the Mass. Our Missal is still that of Pius V. We may be very thankful that his Commission was so scrupulous to keep or restore the old Roman tradition. Essentially the Missal of Pius V. is the Gregorian Sacramentary; that again is formed from the Gelasian book, which depends on the Leonine collection. We find the prayers of our Canon in the treatise *de Sacramentis* and allusions to it in the IVth century. So our Mass goes back, without essential change, to the age when it first developed out of the oldest liturgy of all. It is still redolent of that liturgy, of the days when Cæsar ruled the world and thought he could stamp out the faith of Christ, when our fathers met together before dawn and sang a hymn to Christ as to a God.[2] The final result of our enquiry is that, in spite of unsolved problems, in spite of later changes, there is not in Christendom another rite so venerable as ours.[3]

[1] Since this was written the hope has already been in great part fulfilled. The decree *Divino afflatu* of Nov. 1, 1911 does give us back much of the old Proprium temporis for office and Mass.

[2] Plinii iun. Epist. x, 97, A.D. 112 (p. 16).

[3] The prejudice that imagines that everything Eastern must be old is a mistake. All Eastern rites have been modified later too; some of them quite late. No Eastern rite now used is so archaic as the Roman Mass.

PART II.

THE ORDER OF THE MASS.

CHAPTER V.

THE MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS TO THE LESSONS.

§ 1. Arrangements of the Parts of the Mass.

IN this second part we consider the Mass as it now is and add notes to its text. So far we have examined its general development out of the origin of all liturgies in the New Testament. There remain many things to say about each detail. In our scheme we take as the normal rite High Mass celebrated by a priest. We have seen that Low Mass is merely a compendium of that; no ceremony of Low Mass can be understood except by reference to High Mass; at Low Mass too the ghosts of the deacon and subdeacon hover around the altar.[1] It might be thought still righter to take the Mass of a bishop, the perfect *Sacerdos*, as the normal rite; but liturgically, even theologically, it is not so.

[1] For instance, why at Low Mass is the book moved across the altar for the Gospel? Simply because at High Mass the deacon sings the Gospel on the North Side. What is the "Iube Domine benedicere" prayer? It is the blessing of the deacon before the Gospel. Why does the celebrant always turn round by the right side? Because at High Mass he should not turn his back to the deacon, and so on continually.

As far as the Eucharistic sacrifice is concerned the presbyter, "sacerdos secundi ordinis," has the same position as his bishop. The priest's Mass is not curtailed from that of the bishop, as is Low Mass from High Mass. On the contary, most of the special ceremonies of a Pontifical High Mass are later additions made to enhance the dignity of the celebrant.[1] A priest's High Mass is the best basis on which to discuss our liturgy.

The essential division of the Mass is between that of the Catechumens and that of the Faithful. This division is now so hidden in the Roman rite that most people hardly think of it. There is nothing to mark the end of one and the beginning of the other; we do not even know quite certainly where the division came. Nevertheless, historically, this is the most important distinction of all. The Mass of the Catechumens consists of the processional psalm of the entrance, while the celebrant says private prayers, then follow the remnant of the old litany, the hymn that follows it, the collects, the lessons interspersed with psalms. At Rome it appears that the Catechumens were dismissed before the Gospel. The Gospel and Creed follow. Then the Fragment of the Prayers of the Faithful, the Offertory and Secrets, the Eucharistic prayer (beginning with its preface) containing the great Intercession, the account of the Last Supper with the words of institution and a fragmentary Epiklesis. Then come the Lord's Prayer, the fraction accompanied by the Agnus Dei and the Communion. The thanksgiving for Communion, dismissal, the later blessing and last Gospel end the service.

We have then this scheme of the Mass:

[1] Not all. The bishop keeps some archaic features, which will be noted.

Mass of the Catechumens

Introit
(The Celebrant's preparation)
First incensing of the altar
Kyrie eleison,
Gloria,
Collects,
Lessons and Gradual.
(End of the Mass of the Catechumens.)

Mass of the Faithful.

Gospel and Sermon.
(Creed.)
Prayers of the Faithful,
Second incensing of the altar,
Offertory act and chant. Secrets.
Preface,
Canon,
Pater noster,
Fraction and Agnus Dei,
Communion and its antiphon,
Post-communion,
Dismissal,
Blessing and Last Gospel.

§ 2. The Introit.

The first element of the Mass is the Introit, although the celebrant at the altar does not himself read it till later. It is, of course, simply the processional psalm sung as those who are about to celebrate and assist come in. We meet with Introits for the first time in the earliest Antiphonaries and Ordines ;[1] but already

[1] It belongs to the choir's part and so is not found in the Sacramentaries.

before their date we may conjecture that the entering procession sang something as it proceeded. Music of some kind is a very old and almost inevitable accompaniment of any procession. Anyone may notice the mournful effect of a body of people marching in order in perfect silence. Nor is it doubtful what was sung. The only hymn-book of the early Church was the book of psalms. It was from the psalter that the Church, in East and West, took all her chants. We may then suppose a psalm sung at the entrance as one of the old features of the Mass, though early writers, hardly considering it part of the service (which began at the altar), do not mention it. The *Liber Pontificalis* ascribes the Introit-psalm to Pope Celestine I (422-432): "Hic multa constituta fecit et constituit ut psalmi David CL ante sacrificium psallerentur antiphonatim ab omnibus; quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum epistola beati Pauli recitabatur et sanctum evangelium".[1] The mediæval writers repeat this and explain that Celestine introduced the psalm, to which Gregory I afterwards added the antiphon.[2] Probst thinks that Gelasius I (492-496) first used Introits.[3] It is perhaps safest to explain the Introit merely as the psalm which inevitably accompanied the entering procession as soon as it was looked upon as a procession at all. As soon as the Roman Church adopted her present way of singing psalms she naturally used it for the Introit psalm too. The two Doxology verses (*Gloria Patri* and *Sicut erat*) were added to psalms at Rome, at least in the time of Cassian († 435).[4] The short verse before and after

[1] Ed. Duchesne, i, 230.
[2] E. gr. Honorius of Autun: *Gemma animæ* i, 87 (P.L. clxxii, 572).
[3] *Die abendl. Messe* § 36.
[4] Cassian: *de Instit. Coenob.* ii, 8 (P.L. xlix, 94). These verses are much less universal at the end of psalms in the East. Some people say that St. Jerome and St. Damasus introduced them in the West

the psalm that we now call the Antiphon[1] came from the East (Antioch). It was originally repeated all through the psalm. One person sang the psalm and the people sang the antiphon after each verse.[2] St. Ambrose († 397) introduced the Antiochene manner of psalm-singing in the West.[3] Gradually the Antiphon was reduced to the beginning and end only.[4] This so far concerns the manner of singing psalms in general. As soon as we hear of the Introit-psalm at Rome we find it sung in this way—an antiphon, the psalm, Doxology and antiphon repeated. The Gregorian Sacramentary begins with the rubric: "In primis ad introitum antiphona qualis fuerit statutis temporibus, sive diebus festis seu quotidianis".[5] The psalm that follows is understood. The Gregorian antiphonary gives its first verse.[6] But soon a whole psalm was found to be too long. In the first Roman Ordo, when all is ready, the "schola cantorum" begins the "antiphona ad introitum". As soon as the deacons hear it they go to the sacristy and lead the

(cfr. Bäumer: *Gesch. des Breviers*, Freiburg, 1895, pp. 124, 222). The clause: "Sicut erat in principio" is a later addition, still unknown in the East, which has only: "*καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν*". The Synod of Vaison in 529 orders its use, as a protest against the Arians, (Canon 5; Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, Paris, 1908, ii, p. 1115). It seems that the second verse referred originally to God the Son ("as he was in the beginning" etc.). At one time the Greeks made a grievance of our use of the words "sicut erat in principio"; see Walafrid Strabo: *de eccl. rer.* 25 (P.L. cxiv, 954).

[1] *Antiphona* (*ἀντιφωνή* "answering voice") was used originally of any chant sung alternately by two choirs, then the whole psalm so sung was an *antiphona*, or *psalmus antiphonus*.

[2] As we sing the Invitatorium psalm (94) at matins and in the third nocturn of the Epiphany. The antiphon has the practical advantage of determining the tone of the psalm. People knew the Psalter by heart, or had a book of psalms. But they did not know each time to what tone to sing. The Antiphon showed that.

[3] Cfr. St. Augustine's Confessions, ix, 7.

[4] A further reduction limits the antiphon frequently to the end, only its first words being sung at the beginning, as is well known. However this never happens at the Introit.

[5] In Ménard's edition (P.L. lxxviii, 25). [6] *Ib.* 641-724.

Pope to the church and altar. But when he arrives there, has prayed and given the kiss of peace to his ministers, he makes a sign to the choirmaster to leave out the rest of the psalm and go on at once to the Gloria.[1] By the time of the Xth Roman Ordo (XIth cent. ?) the Introit-psalm is already reduced to its present state, one verse only.[2] Durandus explains and justifies this.[3] It is only the processional-chant, so there is no reason to go on with it after the celebrant has arrived at the altar. The singing of the antiphon (whose chant became more and more elaborate) twice, and of three verses (including *Gloria Patri* and *Sicut erat*) lasts long enough for the procession.

The Introit is the first of the variable parts of the Mass, changing according to the Sunday or feast. The first Roman Introits we know (in the Gregorian Antiphonary) are different for each Mass. Why this is so is part of a larger question: why and when did our Mass begin to be affected so profoundly by the Calendar?

We have already noted this influence of the Calendar as a peculiarity of the Western (Roman and Gallican) rites (pp. 99, 146). The Eastern liturgies are the same all the year round.[4] We have also seen that the origin of the Western practice is one of the problems that cannot be solved with any certainty. Probst's theory was that Pope Damasus first began to modify the Mass so as to make its parts variable (p. 142). This will do well enough as a working hypothesis. At any rate some early Pope made this change. The original rite (as in Justin Martyr, the Apostolic Constitutions etc.) was apparently unchanging.[5]

[1] *Ib.* 941-942. So also the II, III, V and VI Ordines.
[2] P.L. lxxviii, 1010. [3] *Rationale*, iv, 5.
[4] Except, of course, the lessons, and a few chants on great feasts.
[5] We are so used to our variable chants, prayers, etc., that we are perhaps inclined to assume this state as a matter of course. It is not

Another question is, supposing the change in these parts of the Mass, who chose the special Introits, Graduals etc. for the various days and why was such an Introit or Gradual chosen for such a day? Neither can this question be answered except by conjecture. As far as the parts of the Antiphonary (Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Communion) are concerned, St. Gregory I is generally supposed to have selected them, or at least to have fixed them in a final arrangement. No doubt his liturgical work included an arrangement of these parts. The Gregorian Antiphonary, as we know it, contains practically all the *Propria* we use on the older feasts.[1] On the other hand many of these chants must be older than his time (back to Damasus?) and of course a vast number of new ones have been added since. We must leave the question who chose our old propers as one of the many unknown details of the origin of our rite. The new ones are arranged by someone appointed by the Congregation of Rites and approved by it. As for why certain verses were chosen for certain days, that question too is full of difficulty. On many days the reason is obvious. When a feast has a marked character and a verse can be found that suits it, it is chosen, often with great skill.[2] The propers of Christ-

so, as the Eastern liturgies show. Or consider the rites of other Sacraments. Baptism has an elaborate service that may be compared to the Mass. But whatever day one baptizes the service is exactly the same. We do not change the prayers of Baptism so as to remember the Saint of the day. The difference is, of course, that Mass was always more a public act, the common worship of the community; so it would more naturally conform to the divine office, which is the origin of the variable idea.

[1] P.L. lxxviii, 641-724. It has been again revised since Gregory; but its fundamental arrangement goes back to him.

[2] A glance through the old *propria* will be a new revelation of how well our fathers knew their Bibles. The finding of texts, often in remote places, that fit the occasion so perfectly argues that they must almost have known the Bible by heart.

mas, Easter, Pentecost, Commons of Saints, the Requiem and so on are quite obvious. But the ordinary Sunday Masses? Why, for instance, is the Introit for the first Sunday after Pentecost Ps. xii, 6?[1] The question will occur again even more insistently when we come to the lessons (pp. 257-261). In no case does there seem to be any particular reason. One cannot really see any special connection between a Sunday that has no marked character and texts of the psalter that express sentiments equally suitable for any day. Sometimes there seems to be an effort to maintain a sequence of idea throughout the Proper. The Introit, Gradual, Tract, Offertory and Communion of the first Sunday in Lent, for instance, all express trust in God's protection, suiting the Gospel, in which our Lord, having rejected the devil, is served by angels. But in most cases not even a sequence of definite idea is apparent. Mystic interpreters who find a logical idea running through every office do so only by emphasizing the harmony that must exist in any series of Christian prayers. You may say that a Sunday office breathes love of God, sorrow for sin, faith and hope—any collection of prayers does so, of course. So in many cases all one can say candidly is that the unknown early compiler of the proper had to choose some texts; as a matter of fact he chose these. Each of them is certainly an excellent prayer, its idea is most appropriate for any day, therefore also for this.[2] And the Catholic who reverences our past, who values the corporate life of the Church, cannot do better on any given day than join in the sentiments expressed by the Church for so many centuries on this day and

[1] The propers of the Sundays after Pentecost, though not in Muratori's codexes of the Gregorian Sacramentary, are in the Cassinese MS. (p. 123).

[2] There are cases in which one proper Mass (except the lessons) is simply repeated for several days. So the Mass *Adorate Deum* on the IIIrd, IVth, Vth and VIth Sundays after Epiphany.

join the vast number of his fellow Latins who are singing these venerable texts all over the world. So much for the choice of the proper offices in general. We need not repeat this when we come to their other parts.

Turning again to the Introit, we notice that its normal and, apparently, oldest form is that the antiphon is taken from a certain psalm. The verse that follows is then the first of the same psalm,[1] relic of the days when the whole psalm, or most of it, was sung. Its curtailing would naturally leave the first verse. But when the antiphon itself is the first verse the second verse follows. So, for instance, on the first Sunday of Advent. Durandus calls such Introits regular.[2] But often a suitable text from another part of the Bible forms the Antiphon,[3] sometimes it is not a biblical text at all. In Masses for the dead we have the Antiphon "Requiem æternam". On many feasts of Saints (including the Assumption of our Lady and All Saints) we have an ecclesiastical composition: "Gaudeamus omnes in Domino, diem festum celebrantes" etc.; in votive and other Masses of our Lady the antiphon is the beginning of Sedulius' hymn: "Salve Sancta parens".[4] Many of the more modern Introits ignore the old principle of using the first verse of the psalm and choose another one more appropriate.[5] In the middle ages the Introit (as almost every sung

[1] This is the normal arrangement for all psalms, that the antiphon be itself a verse from the psalm to which it belongs.

[2] *Rationale*, iv, 5.

[3] E.gr. the second and third Christmas Masses, Ascension day, Whitsunday, etc.

[4] Cælius Sedulius (V cent.) wrote two well-known hymns, a *Carmen paschale* of which this is a fragment and "A solis ortu cardine" (sung at Lauds at Christmas). See Dreves: *Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung* (Leipzig, 1909) i, 29-31.

[5] E.gr. the Crown of thorns Mass on Friday after Ash Wednesday, St. Ignatius Loyola (31 July) etc.

part of the Mass) was often "farced" with strange texts added as "Tropi". The Tropus was an additional clause, introduced to fill up the long neums; it expanded and applied the original text.[1] Pius V's reform happily banished all tropi except some sequences.

On mournful occasions (Requiems and in Passiontide *de tempore*) the Gloria verses are left out at the Introit, as everywhere. Holy Saturday and the normal Whitsun-eve Mass have no Introit, because there is no procession of entrance; the officiating clergy are already at the altar. The first word of the Introit is used as the name of each proper Mass; a Mass for the Dead is a "Requiem," the Mass for the first Sunday of Advent is "Ad te levavi," the two Masses of the Sacred Heart are "Miserebitur" and "Egredimini". Then the Sunday is called after its Mass. The first four Sundays of Lent are: "Invocabit," "Reminiscere," "Oculi" and "Lætare" Sundays. The text of the Introit, as of all the chants of the Mass, is taken not from the Vulgate but from the old Itala. It will be remembered that the fact that people were accustomed to sing the Itala text at Mass was the great hindrance to the spread of the Vulgate. Our missal gives headings to the Introits (and other parts of the proper). Generally these are references to the part of Scripture from which they are taken. But these headings were written before our present division into verses was made (by Robert Étienne, 1551, 1555); so (for the Gospels especially) they give the chapter (by Stephen Langton, c. 1205) and the older paragraphs of Card. Hugo a S. Caro (c. 1240) by letters of the alphabet. When the text is not biblical, sometimes (rarely) the author's name appears. So the Introit for our Lady "Salve sancta parens" is marked "Sedulius".

[1] Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 5. Bona: *Rerum lit.*, ii, 3, § 3, where some examples will be found (p. 327).

Sometimes the biblical reference only means that the text is based on such a passage of the Bible. So the Introit of the feast of the holy Trinity, marked: Tobiæ 12.

Lately the rule was not to begin the Introit till the celebrant was at the altar, whereby its meaning as the processional psalm was destroyed. Now the Vatican Gradual has restored the old idea; the Introit is to be sung while the celebrant goes to the altar.[1]

The Gallican rite had a chant "Antiphona ad prælegendum" that corresponded more or less to the Roman Introit. In the Romanized Milanese and Mozarabic rites there is a real Introit, called *Ingressa* at Milan, *Officium* in Spain. The Ingressa does not repeat the antiphon at the end, except in Requiems.[2] The *Officium* is arranged like our *Responsorium breve*, namely: a verse, a second verse, part 2 of verse 1, "Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto in sæcula sæculorum, amen,"[3] part 2 of verse 1. In some mediæval rites the antiphon was repeated several times at the end.[4] The Carmelites still repeat it twice on great feasts.

No Eastern rites have an Introit in any form, because they have no procession at the beginning.[5] They all have the other system of preparing the bread and wine and offering it before the liturgy begins (pp. 296-297). So at the beginning of the liturgy the celebrant is already in the sanctuary.

[1] "Accedente sacerdote ad altare incipiunt cantores antiphonam ad introitum." Rubric i.

[2] The Requiem Mass is more Romanized than any other at Toledo (see p. 239).

[3] This is always the form of the Mozarabic doxology.

[4] Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 5.

[5] Unless we say that the Byzantine three antiphons at the beginning more or less correspond to our Introit.

§ 3. The Celebrant's Preparation.

It was also natural, even inevitable, that while the procession moved up the church chanting the Introit, the celebrant should prepare himself for the act he was about to do by saying some prayers. These prayers are those he now says at the foot of the altar before he goes up to it. But for a long time they were simply his own private preparation; no special prayers were appointed, they were not written in any official book. The fixed form we now have is the latest part of the Mass. No such prayers are mentioned at all before the XIth century. During the middle ages there was great variety in their use. Micrologus knows them only as a private preparation;[1] Durandus (and many others) joins them to the washing of hands and the prayers at vesting; he has no idea of fixed forms.[2] Martène gives various alternative prayers.[3] The Missal of Paul III (1550) still only ordered that the priest should say Ps. xlii aloud or in silence before he goes to the altar.[4] Both elements of our present preparation are obvious and would suggest themselves naturally to the celebrant. Ps. xlii, 4 of course suggests the use of that psalm. A confession of sins is also a preparation common to most rites. It was the missal of Pius V that finally fixed the celebrant's preparatory prayers in the form we know. They had long existed in this or similar combinations, together with alternative sets of prayers. The revisors of the Tridentine commission only adopted uniformity in the use of one of the most wide-spread forms. The sign of the cross is the natural beginning of any prayer. Psalm xlii, with v. 4 as its antiphon, is said alternately by the

[1] I (P.L. cli, 979). [2] *Rationale*, iv, 3.
[3] *De antiquis Eccl. rit.* Lib. i, Cap. iv, art. 2 (Antwerp, 1736, i, 360-363).
[4] Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii, 2.

celebrant and ministers, who naturally also say the prayers preparatory to the sacrifice, in which they too have a part to celebrate.[1] It is difficult to say why the Psalm is left out on mournful occasions, unless it be its more cheerful character (v. 5),[2] or perhaps the natural omission of the Gloria Patri drew the Psalm with it. After the verse "Adiutorium nostrum," etc., which generally introduces it,[3] the *Confiteor* follows. It is now said in the invariable Roman form. The Confiteor fundamentally is a very early mediæval prayer, but it had a great number of variant texts.[4] A few versicles (that occur on other occasions too) lead to the two short prayers said as the celebrant goes up to the altar. The first of these ("Aufer a nobis") occurs with a slight variant in the Gelasian Sacramentary as a Collect to be said between Quinquagesima and Lent,[5] also in the Gregorian book at the Dedication of a church, when the relics are taken from their place to be brought in procession.[6] In Micrologus it comes before the Confiteor.[7] Arrived at the altar the celebrant kisses it—an obvious reverence towards the holy place as he approaches it. The first Roman Ordo says that the Pontiff here kisses the altar and Gospel-book.[8] At one time and in many mediæval rites a kiss of peace was given to the ministers at this moment.[9] The prayer ("Oramus te Domine") that accompanies the kiss naturally enough remembers the Saints whose relics are buried in the altar. Here too

[1] *De Sacramentis* already quotes Ps. xlii, 4 as expressing the sentiments of the man who approaches the altar (iv, 2, P.L. xvi, 437). St. Ambrose applies it to baptism (*de Mysteriis* 8; *ib.* 403).

[2] So most mystic writers and Gihr: *Das h. Messopfer*, p. 325.

[3] As in Prime and Compline.

[4] Some of them may be seen in Bona, *loc. cit.* pp. 318-321. See also the XIth century English *Horæ B. M. V.*, published in facsimile by the Henry Bradshaw Society, col. 27.

[5] Ed. Wilson, p. 15. [6] P.L. lxxviii, 159.

[7] Cap. 23 (P.L. cli, 992). [8] P.L. lxxviii, 942.

[9] *Ib.* cfr. *Missale Sarum* (ed. cit. p. 580).

in the middle ages there were many variant forms.[1] That all this is rather preparation than part of the Mass itself is shown by its recital at the foot of the altar, before the celebrant goes up to it. A bishop does not put on the maniple till after the confession.[2] He still keeps the old ceremony of kissing the Gospel as well as the altar.

We have noticed that the late fixing of the preparatory prayers is shown by their variants in the mediæval rites. At Salisbury for instance the celebrant said the *Veni Creator* while vesting, Ps. xlii and its antiphon on the way to the altar together with Kyrie, Pater, Ave, then a short Confiteor at the foot of the altar. He gave the kiss of peace to the deacon and subdeacon with a special form ("Habete osculum pacis" etc.), went up, said "Aufer a nobis," kissed the altar (without a prayer) and made the sign of the cross saying "In nomine Patris" etc.[3] So also the surviving derived rites. The Dominicans, Carthusians and Carmelites do not say the Psalm, but only the antiphon. The Dominicans have a much shorter Confiteor. At Lyons the celebrant begins with a quite different set of prayers.[4] In the middle ages there were a number of long preparatory prayers called *Apologiæ*. These were written in missals, but were merely private devotions, like our *Præparatio ad missam*. Specimens may be seen in Ménard's Gregorian Sacramentary,[5] in the Mass of Fl. Illyricus,[6] etc. They occur especially about the IXth and Xth centuries (Stowe Missal, Book of Cerne, etc.)

[1] The two prayers *Aufer a nobis* and *Oramus te* were said in the mediæval rite of the Papal chapel. See H. Grisar: *Die röm. Kapelle Scta Sctorum* (Freiburg, 1908), p. 23, who points out the special appropriateness of the text ("sancta sanctorum," "quorum reliquiæ hic sunt") in this case. See also Thalhofer: *Handb. der Lit.* (2 ed.) ii, 47.

[2] Except at Requiems. The maniple, more than the chasuble, is the Eucharist vestment. [3] *Missale Sarum*, 578-581.

[4] Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii, 2 (p. 320). See other mediæval variants there. [5] P.L. lxxviii, 226-231. [6] P.L. cxxxviii, 1305-1336.

and are certainly Gallican (Northern) in origin. The Apologiæ occur not only at the beginning, but are scattered throughout the Mass.

Milan and Toledo now have Romanized preparatory prayers. Milan has almost exactly the present Roman form without the psalm. The Mozarabic Mass has the psalm and Confiteor (in a special form) with other versicles and prayers.[1]

§ 4. First Incensing of the altar.

Incense as a perfume was used extensively by the Greeks and Romans. It was a common object of sacrifice both to pagans and Jews (Lev. xxi, 6; Lk. i, 9-11, etc.). Tertullian mentions its use by Christians in ordinary life.[2] As a religious symbol it was used at tombs in the catacombs.[3] The earliest reference to its liturgical use is in Origen (above pp. 33-34), unless this passage be merely metaphorical. At first incense was used only in processions. Incense carried before some great person as a sign of honour was a familiar idea in the first centuries. It was carried before consuls; so Christians, with the development of the idea of ritual splendour, carried it before their bishop. From that to incensing persons is but a step. As it was swung before a bishop in procession, so it would naturally be waved before him at his throne. Then, accepted as a sign of respect like bowing and kneeling, it would be applied symbolically to things, especially to the altar,

[1] *Missale mixtum* (P.L. lxxxv, 525-526). It is strange that the first thing the Mozarabic priest says at the altar is the *Ave Maria*. As a specimen of the many alternative Confiteors that have existed, this is the Mozarabic form: "Confiteor omnipotenti Deo et beate Marie Virgini: et sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo et omnibus sanctis: et vobis fratres manifesto me graviter peccasse per superbiam: in lege Dei mei: cogitatione: locutione: opere et omissione: mea culpa: mea culpa: gravissima mea culpa. Ideo precor beatissimam Virginem Mariam: et omnes sanctos et sanctas: et vos fratres orare pro me."

[2] *De corona mil.* 10 (P.L. ii, 90).

[3] De Rossi: *Roma sotteranea* (Rome, 1877) iii, 505, etc.

throne and type of Christ. Moreover the Bible plainly suggested its use Not only the Old Testament, but Lk. i, 9, the incense offered by the wise men (Mt. ii, 11) and the incense at the heavenly altar in Apoc. viii, 3-5 made its use, as soon as Christian worship began to be adorned with symbolic ceremonies, inevitable. Of all such symbolic ceremonies the use of incense is perhaps the oldest and the most wide-spread.

St. Ambrose († 397) seems to be the first to mention the practice of incensing the Christian altar.[1] In Pseudo-Dionysius (c. 500) it is fully developed.[2] All liturgies use incense at more or less corresponding moments. To incense the altar at this point is obviously a sign of reverence as the celebrant first approaches it. Ordo Rom. I mentions only the subdeacon who goes before the Pope with incense in the entrance procession.[3] Amalarius of Metz when he went to Rome in 831 found that they did not there incense the altar before the Gospel.[4] The Sixth Ordo (XIth cent.) says that the Pope puts the incense into the thurible, that it is carried to the altar and "taken away or hung up" when the Gloria is intoned.[5] We have then the picture of incense swung before the altar at the beginning of Mass. This only needed to be fixed in a regular form to become our incensing of the altar. Durandus[6] and the later writers know the incensing at this point. The blessing of the incense is a further

[1] Exp. Evang. Lucæ i, 28 (in vers. 1, 11, P.L. xv, 1545).

[2] *de Hier. Eccl.* iii, 3 (P.G. iii, 428). The *Liber Pontif.* says that Pope Silvester I (314-335) gave thuribles to hang in the Lateran basilica (ed. Duchesne, i, 174). Hanging thuribles were common in churches all through the early middle ages (see Atchley: *Ordo Rom. primus*, 17-18). For Etheria's reference to incense see below p. 282. Mr. Atchley thinks that all incensing the altar at Mass, Vespers, etc., developed out of its incensing when it is consecrated. *Hist. of the use of Incense*, chap. ix (pp. 188-199).

[3] P.L. lxxviii, 941; so also Ordo II, *ib.* 970, etc.

[4] *De eccl. offic.* Prefatio altera (P.L. cv, 992).

[5] *Ib.* 986-987. [6] *Rationale*, iv, 10.

development of the idea that underlies its being put into the thurible by the celebrant. Durandus mentions it (*loc. cit.*). The insistence that it must be put in by the celebrant in the earlier documents (e. gr. Ordo rom. VI) already implies a kind of blessing—the celebrant's imposition itself is a blessing, or what would it matter who put it in? And, according to the general idea of blessing everything used liturgically, the custom of making the sign of the cross over the incense and the use of some such short prayer as we have would obtain naturally and almost unnoticed.[1] After the altar the celebrant himself is incensed—again a natural idea that has become the general rule on all occasions. Durandus knows this.[2] The exceedingly definite rule by which we now conduct the incensing, illustrated by a picture in the missal, the exact determination of where and how often to swing the thurible is part of the final crystallization of rubrics in the reformed Missal (Pius V and Clement VIII). In the middle ages this (as many other details) was much vaguer.[3] We need not regret the minute exactness. Such increased definiteness was bound to come and, after all, you must incense an altar somehow; it does not hurt to be told how to do so.

§ 5. Kyrie eleison.[4]

We know that the holy liturgy was originally celebrated at Rome in Greek (pp. 126-127). "Kyrie eleison" is the only Greek formula in our normal Mass now;[5] it

[1] The imposition and blessing of the incense is not a special rite here. It always occurs when incense is used, except *coram Sanctissimo exposito.*

[2] *Rationale*, iv, 8. So also *Missale Sarum*, p. 581.

[3] For instance Sarum: "thuрificet (all Sarum rubrics are in the subjunctive) medium altaris et utrumque cornu altaris, primo in dextera, secundo in sinistra parte, et interim in medio" (p. 581).

[4] See E. Bishop: *Kyrie eleison* (*Downside Review*, xviii, 1899, pp. 294-303, and xix, 1900, pp. 44 seq).

[5] The Trisagion on Good Friday is the only other Greek text in the Roman rite.

is tempting to look upon it as a survival of the days when all was Greek. It seems however that this is not so. There is no early evidence of its use in the West. It seems to be a late importation from the East (VIth century). Even in the East there is no evidence of the use of this formula before the IVth century. The words *Κύριε ἐλέησον* are a very old, even pre-Christian ejaculation. In the second century Arrian quotes it: "invoking God we say: Lord have mercy (exactly: *Κύριε ἐλέησον*)".[1] The precedent for Christian use was its frequent occurrence in the Bible.[2] Here it is already a quasi-liturgical form. The only difference is that all the examples in the Bible have an object (*ἐλέησόν με* or *ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς*). Our formula in church is shortened from this.

The surprising thing about the Kyrie eleison is that it is not mentioned earlier. The Apostolic Fathers and Apologists do not quote it, nor the Fathers of the IVth century before St. John Chrysostom. Nor is there any hint of its use in the early Latin Fathers.[3] It began to be said, apparently at Antioch (and Jerusalem), as the answer to the litany form of prayer, that was first a speciality of the Antiochene rite, that spread throughout the Church from that centre. It may perhaps be conjectured as the answer to the petitions in the liturgy of the second book of the Apostolic Constitutions.[4] It is found plainly in the

[1] Diatribæ Epicteti ii, 7 (ed. Schenkl, *Bibl. Script. Gr. et Lat.*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1894, p. 123). We notice that in this, as in all other transliterated Greek words (Paráclitus, Agios, imas), the spelling supposes the Greek pronunciation of the time when they were borrowed (as in modern Greek).

[2] In the Septuagint Ps. iv, 2; vi, 3; ix, 14; xxv, 11; cxxii, 3; Is. xxxiii, 2; Tob. viii, 10, etc. In the N.T. Mt. ix, 27; xv, 22; xx, 30; Mc. x, 47; Lc. xvi, 24; xvii, 13.

[3] Probst: *Liturgie der 3 ersten chr. Jahrht.* 175, 190, 219 etc. Eusebius of Cæsarea seems to imply its use; *Lit des 4 Jahrh.* 51-52.

[4] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 30.

liturgy of the eighth book.[1] This gives us the middle of the IVth century as the date of its first certain appearance.[2] St. John Chrysostom († 407), who came from Antioch, quotes Kyrie eleison often.[3] Etheria (Sylvia) heard it at Jerusalem; the Greek form is evidently strange to her, so she translates it: "unus ex diaconibus facit commemorationem singulorum, sicut solet esse consuetudo. Et diacono dicente singulorum nomina semper pisinni[4] plurimi stant respondentes semper: kyrie eleyson, quod dicimus nos: miserere Domine, quorum voces infinitæ sunt."[5] This is exactly the Antiochene litany (*συναπτή*) with the answer to each clause. From Antioch the use of such litanies spread throughout the East. They and their answer: Kyrie eleison occur constantly in all Eastern liturgies, most often of all in the Antiochene-Byzantine family.[6]

What was there at this place in the West before the Kyrie was adopted? The Kyrie is now the first prayer of the Mass, since the Introit is the psalm of the entrance procession and the priest's prayers are preparation. How then did the liturgy in the West begin?

The Gallican Mass in Germanus of Paris began by three chants, the Trisagion (in Greek and Latin), the Kyrie, the Benedictus. Kyrie eleison was sung thrice

[1] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 4 etc. passim.

[2] The litany in Ap. Const. II, is a later interpolation; Funk: *Die apostol. Konstitutionen*, p. 77.

[3] See the quotations in Brightman, pp. 471, 477 (notes 7, 8). The Synapte of the deacon is quoted by the Synod of Ancyra in 314; *ib.* p. 524, note 8.

[4] Boys.

[5] Ed. Geyer (*Corpus script. eccl. latin.* Vienna, vol. xxxix, 1898) xxiv, 5; p. 72.

[6] Kyrie eleison occurs 12 times in St. James' liturgy, 3 times in St. Mark and continually in the Byzantine and Armenian rites. Its normal place is the answer to a litany; but it occurs on many other occasions too. It is translated in all the non-Greek rites except the Coptic one.

by three boys.[1] It is tempting to see in it the remnant of an introductory litany, of which it was originally the answering clause. Was there such a litany at Rome? Is our Kyrie the remnant of a Synapte with which the liturgy began, as at Antioch and Constantinople? There is no evidence of anything of the kind in the first period. All the old references to the Roman and African Mass imply that it began with the lessons (Justin Martyr, p. 20; the Africans, p. 46). But later an allusion of St. Gregory I (p. 234) and other evidence imply that the Kyrie once had the clauses of a litany.

Our first witness for the Kyrie at Rome is the second Synod of Vasio (Vaison in Provence) held under Cæsarius of Arles in 529. Its third Canon says: "since both in the Apostolic See and in all the provinces of the East and of Italy a sweet and most salutary custom has been introduced that Kyrie eleison should often be said with great devotion and compunction, we too ordain that in all our churches this pious custom be introduced at matins and Masses and vespers".[2] This council represents the Romanizing movement in Gaul, of which St. Cæsarius was the chief champion. We note that the Kyrie has lately been introduced at Rome. Nothing is said about Africa or Spain, though Africa is quoted in Canon 5 as a precedent for the *Sicut erat* verse.[3] The Kyrie has always been foreign to the Spanish liturgy (below p. 239). We see also that Gaul took the Kyrie from Rome.[4] It was apparently

[1] Duchesne: *Origines du Culte*, 182-183.

[2] Mansi, viii, 725; Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, ii, 1113-1114.

[3] Mansi, *ib.*; Hefele-Leclercq, *ib.* 1114.

[4] Though many elements of the Gallican rite, especially Germanus' Parisian use came straight from the East (Byzantium).

at Rome that it was first introduced in the West. Our next witness is St. Gregory I (590-604). The use of the Kyrie is one of the points in which he defends his church from following Constantinople (in his letter ix, 12 to John of Syracuse, above p. 135). He says there: "We neither say nor have said Kyrie eleison as it is said by the Greeks. For among the Greeks it is said together by all; with us it is said by clerks and answered by the people, and Christe eleison is said as many times, which is by no means the case among the Greeks. But in the daily Masses we leave out some things which are generally said; we only say Kyrie eleison and Christe eleison, that we should dwell rather longer on these words of prayer".[1] His biographer, John the deacon, tells us that it was St. Gregory who introduced the Kyrie at Rome.[2] But he ascribes to Gregory all the points mentioned in the letter to John of Syracuse. The Council of Vaison shows that the Kyrie is rather older. The letter mentions what is the unique speciality of the Roman rite, the formula: "Christe eleison". In all Eastern liturgies they say only Kyrie eleison. At Milan too, where the Kyrie occurs often as a Trinitarian formula (p. 239) they say Kyrie eleison thrice. The Pope says further that, in distinction to the Byzantine manner, at Rome clerks sing the Kyrie and the people answer. This seems to mean double invocations, not very easy to account for if, as we shall see, the Kyrie itself was the answer to a litany of petitions. No doubt this was the manner of singing it in the daily Masses at which the litany was left out. How in particular are we to understand the last sentence quoted above, about the "things generally said (aliqua quæ dici solent)" left out in daily Masses, in order that the people should have more time to dwell on the Kyrie

[1] P.L. lxxvii, 956. [2] *Vita S. Greg.* ii, 20 (P.L. lxxv, 94).

itself? There was then some other text besides the actual invocation, which text was sometimes left out. Everything points to this text being the clauses of a litany, presumably sung by a deacon or other clerk. At Antioch, whence no doubt the Kyrie originally came to Rome, it is sung just at this point (as the opening chant of the Catechumens' liturgy) not isolated, but as the answer to the five petitions of the deacon's Synapte.[1] In all Eastern liturgies it occurs in this way, in those derived from Antioch at this place.[2] Certain vestiges at Rome argue that here too the Kyrie was first adopted as part of a litany. The formula is still the beginning and end of our litany of the saints. In the Gelasian Sacramentary at the Ordination Mass (certainly Roman) after the Introit the Pope announces the names of those to be ordained. The next rubric is: "Et post modicum intervallum mox incipiant omnes Kyrie eleison cum litania".[3] Down to the IXth century there was at Rome, on days that had no Gloria, a litany at this place, formed just like the Byzantine Synapte, with the answers: "Oramus te Domine, exaudi et miserere".[4] At Milan they still have such a litany after the Ingressa (Introit) on Sundays in Lent. The answer to each clause is "Domine miserere".[5] This too may be Byzantine influence. Indeed on two days in the year, the eves of Easter and Whitsunday, our Mass still begins with a litany, in which the Kyrie fits naturally. The ordination Mass still has the litany, as in the Gelasian book,

[1] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 34.

[2] Byzantine liturgy, *ib.* 362-363; Armenian, p. 464, St. Mark (here Byzantinized), 117.

[3] Ed. Wilson, p. 22.

[4] Goar: *Euchologion* (Venice, 1730), p. 106, note 62. Card. Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii, 4 (ed. 1672, pp. 338-339) gives an example of this litany.

[5] Bona, *ib.* p. 339; Duchesne: *Origines*, pp. 189-199.

though it has now been moved to the place immediately before the actual ordination.

From all this we conclude that our Kyrie is the fragment of a litany, introduced at Rome from the East as the opening prayer of the liturgy about the year 500.[1] St. Gregory I's letter means that in his time the petitions of the litany were left out at ordinary (daily) Masses, that people might dwell more on the prayer contained in the words Kyrie eleison. For great occasions (feasts and ordinations) the whole litany was still kept.[2] When it was left out the deacons (clerici) instead of its clauses sang repeatedly: Kyrie eleison, the people answering the same words.[3] At Rome the formula: Christe eleison had been added and was used, probably alternately.[4] After Gregory's time gradually what he knew as the custom for "daily" Masses became more and more common till at last the litany disappeared altogether, except on Easter and Whitsun eves and (removed to a later place) at ordinations.[5] No doubt the introduction of the Gloria [6] helped to banish it, so that it remained longer on days which had no Gloria. It does not appear from the Synod of Vaison and Germanus of Paris that the Gallican Mass ever had the litany. It borrowed from Rome, or the East, only the invocation Kyrie eleison.

At Rome for a long time the number of invocations

[1] Shortly before the Synod of Vaison in 529.

[2] This is involved by his specifying "in quotidianis autem missis" etc.

[3] As at the beginning of the litany on Holy Saturday.

[4] "Totidem vicibus."

[5] Meanwhile the litany itself developed into the Roman form we now always use. Another relic of the connection between Kyrie and litany is that for a long time the Kyrie was left out whenever a litany had just been sung, as on Rogation days. *Ordo Rom.* XI (XII cent.) P.L. lxxviii, 1050.

[6] See next paragraph.

was not determined. The Council of Vaison says it is sung "frequentius" (above p. 233). The first Roman Ordo gives the direction: "The choir, having finished the antiphon, begins Kyrie eleison. But the leader of the choir watches if the Pontiff wishes to change the number of the litany and bows to the Pontiff" (namely, when he receives the sign).[1] By about the IXth century the number is already fixed as we know it. So the Ordo of Saint-Amand: "when the choir has finished the Antiphon the Pontiff makes a sign that Kyrie eleison be said. The choir says it[2] and the regionarii[3] who stand below the ambo repeat it. When they have repeated it the third time, the Pontiff signs again that Christe eleison be said. And, it having been said a third time, he signs again that Kyrie eleison be said. And when they have finished nine times he signs to make an end."[4] All the later commentators know and explain the ninefold invocation.[5] The idea is obvious. The older vague number was fixed to make a Trinitarian invocation. We sing Kyrie eleison thrice to God the Father, Christe eleison thrice to God the Son, Kyrie eleison thrice to the Holy Ghost. In the mediæval derived rites this ninefold invocation was not changed.

But the Kyrie more than any other part of the Mass was elaborately farced. The farcing (farcitura) of a

[1] P.L. lxxviii, 942. "Litany" here means only the Kyrie. It kept the old name a long time.

[2] "Et dicit schola." *Schola* is always the choir (schola cantorum); *dicere* always covers singing, as in the rubrics of the present missal ("dicit cantando vel legendo" before the Pater noster).

[3] The "defensores regionarii," who looked after and protected Church property, one of the many official ranks of the Papal court. At Constantinople they were called ἔκδικοι (see *Kirchenlexikon*, s.v. *Defensor ecclesiæ*).

[4] Duchesne: *Origines*, Appendix I (p. 442).

[5] Honorius of Autun († 1120) *Gem. anim.* i, 92 (P.L. clxxii, 574); Durandus: *Rationale* iv, 112. Only Amalarius of Metz († c. 850) seems to think there were three invocations (*de eccl. offic.* iii, 6; P.L. cv, 1113).

text means the introduction of other words (tropi). This was done to fill up the musical neums. Consistently with St. Gregory's idea of dwelling longer on the invocation, the Kyrie was sung (is still sung) with long neums on most of its syllables. In the middle ages they seem to have found these neums wearisome. So they inserted clauses to fit the notes; one neum became a series of single notes with a text. There was a huge variety of these farced Kyries everywhere. The Vatican Gradual preserves their memory in the titles of the Kyriale. "Kyrie Rex Genitor" (no. vi), "Orbis factor" (no. xi) and so on are the beginnings of old farced Kyries. As a specimen this, from the Sarum missal, will serve:

"Kyrie, rex genitor ingenite, vera essentia, eleyson.
Kyrie, luminis fons rerumque conditor, eleyson.
Kyrie, qui nos tuæ imaginis signasti specie, eleyson.
Christe, Dei forma humana particeps,[1] eleyson.
Christe, lux oriens per quem sunt omnia, eleyson.
Christe, qui perfecta es sapientia, eleyson.
Kyrie, Spiritus vivifice, vitæ vis, eleyson.
Kyrie, utriusque vapor in quo omnia, eleyson.
Kyrie, expurgator scelerum et largitor gratiæ; quæsumus propter nostras offensas noli nos relinquere, o consolator dolentis animæ, eleyson."[2]

The last farcing is generally the longest, since the last Kyrie has the longest neums. Sometimes the farcing replaced part of the essential text. One Kyrie begins: "Orbis factor, rex æterne, eleyson". There are some very curious mixtures of Latin and

[1] *Sic!* Bona gives: "Deus humanæ formæ particeps".

[2] *Missale Sarum*, ed. cit. 929.* Many others will be found there and in Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii. 4 (pp. 335-337). The *Kyrie fons bonitatis* (no. ii, in the Vatican Gradual) may be seen, with its farcing set to the music, in an article by Dom. Gabriel Beyssac in the *Rassegna Gregoriana* (Desclée, Lefebvre, Rome) for 1904 (vol. iii, pp. 531-544).

Greek: "Deus creator omnium, tu Theos ymon nostri pie, eleyson".[1]

All these additional texts were abolished by the reform of Pius V.

We have seen that the Gallican Mass (of St. Germanus) had a Kyrie at this place (p. 232). Apparently Kyrie eleison was sung three times only.[2] So at Milan it is sung thus after the Gloria, again after the lessons and after the Postcommunion. The Mozarabic rite has no Kyrie proper. It occurs (with Christe eleison) among the celebrant's preparatory prayers[3] and in Masses for the dead[4]; both are Roman interpolations.

§ 6. Gloria in Excelsis.[5]

The Gloria (hymnus angelicus, doxologia maior) is the translation of a very old Greek hymn. It is one of the "private psalms" (psalmi idiotici) that were written and sung in church during the first centuries. Namely, long before hymns in regular metre were composed[6] Christians began to compose texts to be sung, on the model of the only hymn-book they knew, the Psalter. These "private psalms" (as opposed to the canonical psalms) were written in short verses, like the psalter, divided in halves; often they had a certain amount of free rhythm. Such are the *Φῶς ἱλαρόν*,[7] later the *Te Deum*, the so-called Athanasian Creed,

[1] *Missale Sarum*, p. 929.*

[2] Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 183. [3] P.L. lxxxv, 525.

[4] *Ib.* 1014; also in one or two Romanized Votive Masses, 983, etc.

[5] Before he intones the Gloria the celebrant recites the Introit and Kyrie. This is the universal rule now (see p. 190). We need not refer to these supplementary recitations again.

[6] Metrical hymns are still almost unknown in the Eastern Churches. They begin in the West with St. Hilary († 366) and St. Ambrose († 397). See G. M. Dreves: *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung* (Leipsig, 1909) i, 1-14.

[7] Sung at the *Hesperinon* in the Byzantine office.

best-known and certainly finest of all, the *Gloria in excelsis.*

The rhythm of the Gloria is more obvious in the original Greek (by accent, of course); for instance:

"*Κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε,*
θεὲ πάτερ παντοκράτορ."

It is found first in St. Athanasius' treatise: *de Virginitate*[1] as part of morning prayer (with Ps. lxii, and the Benedicite) and in the Codex alexandrinus (Vth cent.).[2] In the Apostolic Constitutions (VII, 47) it appears again, apparently also as a morning prayer.[3] There are considerable variants in these early forms. That of the Apost. Const. is: "Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax, in hominibus bona voluntas. Laudamus te, hymnis celebramus te,[4] benedicimus te, glorificamus te, adoramus te per magnum pontificem, te verum Deum, ingenitum unum, solum inaccessum, propter magnam gloriam tuam, Domine rex cælestis, Deus pater omnipotens. Domine Deus, pater Christi, agni immaculati, qui tollit peccatum mundi: suscipe deprecationem nostram, qui sedes super Cherubim; quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus Iesus, Christus Dei universæ naturæ creatæ, regis nostri, per quem tibi gloria honor et adoratio."[5]

Duchesne corrects "Dominus Iesus, Christus" to "Dominus Iesu Christi,"[6] an alteration evidently demanded by the context (the *tu* is God the Father

[1] C. 20 (P.G. xxviii, 275). The authenticity of this work, long disputed, now seems more generally admitted. See Eichhorn: *Athanasii de vita ascetica testimonia* (Halle, 1886) pp. 27 seq., and especially von der Goltz in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.S. xiv, 2 *a*.

[2] As an appendix to the psalms at the end.

[3] It is followed by a quite beautiful hymn (vii, 48) as an evening prayer, and by a grace for meals (vii, 49).

[4] *ὑμνοῦμέν σε.*

[5] Funk: *Didascalia*, i, 455-457. His Latin version seems most convenient for comparison with that of the missal.

[6] *Origines du Culte*, p. 158.

throughout). This gives the hymn a subordinationist colouring, which was carefully corrected afterwards in both East and West. The Byzantine rite has the Gloria as part of the Orthros[1] almost exactly in our form, but with additional verses after the Amen.[2] It is now a hymn to the Holy Trinity; the first part is addressed to God the Father, the second (from "Domine Fili") to God the Son, and the short last clause ("cum Sancto Spiritu") is about the Holy Ghost.

When was it brought to the West? We know it now only as a part of the Mass.[3]

There are two traditions, one ascribing it to Pope Telesphorus (128-139?), the other to St. Hilary of Poitiers († 366).[4] The Liber Pontificalis says that Telesphorus "ordered that . . . on the Birth of the Lord Masses should be said at night . . . and that the angelic hymn, that is: Gloria in excelsis Deo, be said before the sacrifice".[5] Innocent III (1178-1180) repeats this.[6] Its introduction for Christmas is, of course, particularly suitable. But many authors say St. Hilary composed or translated it, from "Laudamus te".[7] That he translated it is quite likely; he was an exile in the East in 360 and must have heard it then. Generally the two traditions are combined in this way: Telesphorus introduced only the first phrase (Lk. ii, 14), Hilary added the rest (from "Laudamus te").[8] The next thing we hear about the Gloria is its extension to other days besides Christmas. The Liber Pontificalis says that Pope Symmachus (498-514) "ordered the hymn Gloria

[1] The morning office (more or less corresponding to our Lauds).
[2] In the *Horologion* (Uniate edition, Rome, 1876, p. 57).
[3] It has been sung at Lauds in the West too.
[4] Whoever translated it made a free version of the Greek.
[5] Ed. Duchesne, i, 129.
[6] *De s. altar. myst.*, ii, 20 (P.L. ccxvii, 810).
[7] Beeth: *Rationale*, cap. 36 (P.L. ccii, 45); Honorius of Autun: *Gemma anim.* i, 87 (P.L. clxxii, 572) etc.
[8] Durandus: *Ration.* iv, 13 and the others quoted.

in excelsis to be said every Sunday and on the birth ("natalicia," day of martyrdom) of martyrs". It adds that its place is (as now) after the Kyrie, but that it may be sung only at Bishops' Masses.[1] On the other hand there is no mention of the *Gloria* in the Gelasian Sacramentary. It occurs first in the Gregorian book. It does not follow that it was not sung at the time of the Gelasianum. Again, that St. Hilary introduced it to the West need not mean that it was sung at Rome in his time; and the notices of the Liber Pontif. for early Popes are not sure information. We must take the Gregorian Sacramentary as the first certain witness for the Gloria in Mass. Abbot Cabrol thinks it is post-Gelasian.[2] Ordo Rom. I has the Gloria and implies that it is not sung all the year round. The Pope begins it "si tempus fuerit".[3] This seems to mean that it is only sung on joyful occasions.[4] It was long withheld from the Mass of a priest. The same Ordo allows priests to say it only on Easter day.[5] The Ordo of Saint-Amand limits the Gloria (for priests) to Easter Eve and the day of their ordination.[6] The Gregorian Sacramentary[7] and Walafrid Strabo[8] agree with Ordo Rom. I. in allowing it on Easter day only. As late as the XIth century Berno of Reichenau still complains of this restriction and asks why priests may say it at Easter and not at Christmas, when it is much more appropriate.[9] But soon after, the use of the Gloria was allowed to priests as to bishops. Micrologus says that "on every feast

[1] Ed. Duchesne, i, 263.
[2] *La Messe de Flacius Illyricus*, Rev. Bénédictine, 1905, p. 151-164.
[3] Ed. Atchley, p. 130. P.L. lxxviii, 942 omits this.
[4] Compare the same note for the Alleluia, *ib.* [5] P.L. lxxviii, 949.
[6] Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 460. [7] P.L. lxxviii, 25.
[8] *Liber de exordiis*, cap. 22 (P.L. cxiv, 945).
[9] *De quibusdam rebus ad Missæ officium pert.* cap. 2 (P.L. cxlii, 1059).

that has a full office, except in Advent and Septuagesima and the feast of the Innocents, both priests and bishops say Gloria in excelsis".[1] This is still our rule.[2] Advent was not considered a penitential season till about the XIIIth century. In the XIIth century it was still kept with white vestments and the Gloria.[3] The omission of the Gloria in Lent and Advent is natural enough from its joyful character. We may note too that such later additions to the Mass begin generally on certain days only, are then extended to others, but show that they are not essential because they are not always said. So the Creed; but one cannot imagine a Mass without the Pater noster.

For whatever reason the Gloria was placed after the Kyrie it comes there suitably in accordance with a common liturgical arrangement. Namely in many rites the first litany ends with a hymn, which gathers up into a final chorus the voices that have answered the litany petitions. So St. James' liturgy ends the first Synapte with the chant of the Trisagion. The Byzantine rite has three litanies at this place, each of which ends with a so-called antiphon, namely either the typic psalms[4] and the beatitudes, or three other psalms, always with the *Μονογενής*[5] after the second. Our Kyrie and Gloria then represent such a litany with its concluding antiphon. The Roman Gloria corresponds very well to the Byzantine *Μονογενής*, or also to the Gallican opening chants (p. 232).

Later the Gloria was often farced. Certain tropes added on our Lady's feasts were popular all over the West. Thus: "Filius Patris (primogenitus Mariæ

[1] Cap. 2 (P.L. cli, 979).

[2] Holy Innocents is looked upon as a penitential day; it has violet vestments, no Te Deum nor Gloria.

[3] Ordo Rom. XI, 4 (P.L. lxxviii, 1027).

[4] The "typic" psalms are cii, cxlv.

[5] See p. 90.

virginis)," " Suscipe deprecationem nostram (ad Mariæ gloriam)," " Quoniam tu solus sanctus (Mariam sanctificans). Tu solus Dominus (Mariam gubernans). Tu solus altissimus (Mariam coronans)."[1] In spite of repeated commands to expunge such tropes they were still sung in places till the revision of 1570. The special popularity of the farcing for our Lady's feasts accounts for the rubric in our missal after the Gloria: "Sic dicitur Gloria in excelsis, etiam in missis beatæ Mariæ, quando dicendum est".

The Gloria is a Roman element unknown to the Gallican rite. Later (since about the VIIth century) it displaced the Trisagion or Benedictus at this place in the Milanese and Mozarabic liturgies—plainly a Roman importation.[2] Nor has any Eastern rite the Gloria in the liturgy. Only the text of Lk., ii, 14 is sung at various places in quite a different connection in some.[3]

§ 7. Collects.

The name Collecta corresponds exactly to the Greek Σύναξις. It is a late Latin form for "Collectio".[4] The original use of the word is not doubtful. When there was a station at a certain church the clergy and people met first at another church and then went in procession to the one appointed, where Mass was to be said.[5] Their first assembly was the *Synaxis*, the

[1] The Sarum Missal allowed only these tropes: In omnibus aliis missis, quando dicendum est. dicitur sine prosa" (ed. Burntisland, 585-586).

[2] Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 183.

[3] Apost. Const. VIII, xiii, 13 (Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 24) at the elevation before Communion; St. James at the Offertory and Communion (*ib.* 45, 64); Abyssinian at the kiss of peace (*ib.* 227). Nestorian prothesis and at the beginning of the liturgy (*ib.* 248, 252), Byzantine prothesis (361).

[4] So missa (=missio), oblata, ascensa (in the Gelasian Sacramentary) etc.

[5] The Roman *Station* was a liturgical service held as described. St. Gregory I is said to have organized the places of stations (Ioh.

Collecta. Before they started a prayer was said, "Oratio ad collectam".[1] The Gregorian Sacramentary makes this clear. For instance, at Candlemas we find first a prayer with the title "ad collectam," then another prayer "ad missam".[2] But as a general rule the "ad collectam" prayer was repeated when the people arrived at the stational church. It thus formed the opening prayer by the celebrant after the common prayer (litany) and hymn (Gloria).

The question who composed the collects, when they were first used, who arranged special ones for each day, all this is part of the mystery that hangs over the first development of the Roman rite. In Justin Martyr's account there is nothing corresponding to the collect; he begins with the lessons.[3] When the Roman rite emerges in the Leonine Sacramentary our arrangement is complete. Each Mass has four special prayers, those that we now call the Collect, Secret, Postcommunion and Oratio super populum.[4] Already the collects are composed specially for each day and allude to the particular occasion, the saint or feast. The collects especially have the note of change according to the Calendar that distinguishes the Western rites. The Collect then appears in the first document of our liturgy. Later ages have not modified the fact that every Mass has a collect before its lessons. They have

Diac: *Vita S. Greg.* ii, 18, P.L. lxxv, 94). They are noted in the Gregorian Sacramentary. Since the XIIIth or XIVth century the custom has died out. But the stations are still marked in the missal.

[1] I.e. "ad collectionem populi". So a Capitulare of Charles the Great: "Si quis super missum dominicum cum collecta et armis venerit (namely with retainers and weapon)." P.L. xcvii, 561.

[2] P.L. lxxviii, 46.

[3] It does not follow necessarily that there were no prayers before the lessons in his time; only he does not mention them, so we have no evidence.

[4] Or rather, most have. There are some that lack one or more of these and some that have several Collects.

only added a vast number to those of the Leonine book.

Before the Collect the celebrant greets the people. This is a natural, very old and universal custom. He is about to speak in their name to God, so first he, as it were, presents himself to them. In all Eastern rites such greetings occur at various moments during the liturgy. The usual Eastern greeting is "Peace to all" to which the people answer: "And to thy Spirit".[1] Only in Egypt do we find the form: "The Lord be with you all".[2] The first Roman Ordo introduces the Collect with the form: "Pax vobis,"[3] the second has the form: "Pax vobiscum".[4] This seems to be the old Western greeting at this point; St. Augustine[5] and Optatus of Mileve (c. 370) know it.[6] It is, of course, taken from Joh. xx, 19. The alternative greeting, no less old, is: "Dominus vobiscum". This too occurs (at other parts of the Mass) in the earliest Roman books, in the Gelasianum,[7] Gregorianum,[8] Ordo Rom. I[9] etc. It is found repeatedly in the Bible.[10] The answer: "Et cum spiritu tuo" (*καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου*) is a Semitism founded on Biblical use[11] and means simply: "and with you".

Then the greeting "Pax vobis" was looked upon as

[1] St. James, Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 33, 35 etc.; St. Mark, *ib.* 115, 117 etc; Byzantine, *ib.* 392 etc. Armenian, *ib.* 426 etc. Nestorian, 296 etc. There are longer forms to the same effect. Apost. Const. *ib.* 3 etc.

[2] Const. Eccl. aegypt. (Funk: *Didascalia*, ii, 99, 102); St. Mark (Brightman, 125 etc.).

[3] P.L. lxxviii, 942. [4] P.L. *ib.* 971.

[5] *De civ. Dei*, xxii, 8, § 22 (P.L. xli, 770).

[6] *De Schism. Don.* iii, 10 (P.L. xi, 1021).

[7] Ed. Wilson, p. 71. [8] P.L. lxxviii, 25.

[9] *Ib.* 944, 948. [10] Ruth ii, 4; II Thess. iii, 16.

[11] Gal. vi, 18; Phil. iv, 23; II Tim. iv, 22. The mediæval writers naturally see a mystic reason for this form. Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 14; so also L. de Ponte, S.J.: *De christ. hom. perfectione* (Köln, 1625) iv, 2, 11.

suitable for joyful occasions[1] and was to be used only when the Gloria had been sung. Because the priest did not hear the Gloria at his Mass, neither did he say "Pax vobis," but "Dominus vobiscum" instead. The Bishop too used this form when there was no Gloria. The Ordo of Saint-Amand (IXth cent.) already has this provision.[2] When Amalarius of Metz was in Rome (827) the rule was not yet firmly established. One gathers from him that the priest might use either form.[3] But in 936 Pope Leo VII, writing to bishops in Gaul and Germany, connects "Pax vobis" with the Gloria.[4] From that time the present rule obtains wherever the Roman rite is used, namely that "Pax vobis" is said only by bishops and when the Gloria has been sung.[5] Even after the Gloria had been conceded to priests they still said: "Dominus vobiscum" always. Innocent III (1178-1180) thinks that "Pax vobis" is suitable only for bishops, who are vicars of Christ.[6]

The celebrant naturally turns to the people to greet them and kisses the altar as a sign of respect before he turns his back to it. The collect begins with the word: *Oremus.* In the Eastern rites generally the deacon invites the people to attend or to pray before the celebrant begins a prayer.[7] Ordo Rom. I says that the Pontiff after saying "Pax vobis," "turning back to the East[8] says Oremus; and the prayer follows."[9] The

[1] Possibly through its connection with Easter (Joh. xx, 19).

[2] Duchesne: *Origines* 447.

[3] *De eccl. offic.* iii, 9 (P.L. cv, 1115).

[4] P.L. cxxxii, 1086.

[5] And on Gaudete and Lætare Sundays (Ordo Rom. XIV, 79; P.L. lxxviii, 1200).

[6] *De s. altaris mysterio* ii, 24 (P.L. ccxvii, 812). Cfr. Sicardus: *Mitrale* iii, 2 (P.L. ccxiii, 98), Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 14; St. Thomas Aquinas: *Summa Theol.* iii, 9, 83, art. 5 ad 6.

[7] E. gr. St. James: "Let us bow our heads to the Lord" (Brightman, 40); "Again let us pray to the Lord" (*ib.* 41); Let us stand well; in peace let us pray to the Lord" (43) etc.

[8] He is at his throne. [9] I. 9 (P.L. lxxviii, 942).

Oremus is certainly supposed in the early Sacramentaries before the Collect. We still have occasionally a longer form, which one is tempted to consider the older one, of which Oremus is an abbreviation. In the collects on Good Friday the celebrant tells the people for what they are to pray: "Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, pro ecclesia sancta Dei, ut eam Deus" etc. The deacon tells the people to kneel. Originally there was certainly an interval for private prayer before the subdeacon[1] told them to rise. "Flectamus genua" and "Levate" occur at other times too.[2] A similar invitation to pray for some definite object occurs at the ordination Masses in the Leonianum,[3] and repeatedly in the Gelasianum[4] and Gregorianum.[5] Is not this then the original form at all collects?[6]

At first at each Mass one collect only was said, as one Gospel and one Preface. Amalarius in the IXth century bears witness to this at Rome;[7] so also Micrologus.[8] The multiplication of collects to commemorate other feasts or, originally it seems, merely to say more prayers, began north of the Alps. The custom reached Rome by about the XIIth century. Ordo Rom. XIII (at the time of Gregory X, 1271-1276) provides for several, keeping however one only for Papal Mass.[9] The mediæval writers already insist

[1] Formerly the deacon gave both words of command.

[2] In Ferial Masses in Lent etc. [3] Ed. Feltoe, 120, 122.

[4] Ed. Wilson, 22, 26, 75, 76 etc.

[5] P.L. lxxviii, 79-80, 159, 221, 222, 223, etc. "Flectamus genua" etc alone, *ib.* 79, 156 etc.

[6] If this were so it would account for another explanation of the word *Collecta* found in some mediæval writers; namely the collection of the various private prayers into one last common petition. So Walafrid Strabo: *de eccl. rer. exord. et increm.* xxii (P.L. cxiv, 945), *Micrologus*, 3 (P.L. cli, 979) and others. It would also account for the characteristic terseness and vagueness of the old Roman collects. On the other hand, by the time of these writers certainly there stood only *Oremus* before the collect.

[7] *De eccl. offic.* Præf. (P.L. cv, 989 seq).

[8] 4 (P.L. cli, 980). [9] P.L. lxxviii, 1117.

on the number of Collects being uneven,[1] a curious principle that still obtains, of which the origin is difficult to guess. They give various mystic reasons for the numbers 3, 5, 7 and tell us, as a general principle (on the strength of Virgil) the God loves an odd number.[2] But Durandus[3] and others note that on great feasts the old rule of one collect only is to be kept.

The oldest collects we know are those of the Leonine Sacramentary. Most of these are still in the missal. No one knows who wrote them. Probst thinks that Pope Damasus (366-384) composed the original nucleus of the collects and so set the rules of style that govern all the older ones in the Roman rite.[4] Buchwald too thinks that Damasus wrote the collects for the Masses of Martyrs held at the first stations (generally their tombs) which, he says, form the original nucleus of the Leonianum. He gives certain not improbable reasons that suggest Damasus.[5] Certainly one is tempted to connect the marked style of the old collects with the Pope who is the typical representative of Roman style.

In any case the logical order and style of the old collects is quite marked. Nothing in the Missal is so redolent of the character of our rite, nothing so *Roman* as the old collects—and nothing, alas, so little Roman as the new ones. The old collect is always very short. It asks for one thing only, and that in the tersest language. Generally the petition is of quite a

[1] Innocent III: *de s. altaris mysterio* ii, 27 (P.L. ccxvii, 814); Sicardus: *Mitrale*, iii, 2 (P.L. ccxiii, 99); Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 15, 15.

[2] "Numero deus impari gaudet," Eclog. viii, 75. Amalarius of Metz says it is "because an uneven number cannot be divided, and God will have no division in his Church" (*Eclog. de off. Missæ*, P.L. cv, 1317).

[3] *Rationale*, iv, 15, 16. [4] *Liturgie des iv Jahrh.* 459.

[5] *Das sogen. Sacr. Leon.*, 23-24.

general kind: that we may obtain what we ask, that the Church be protected in peace, and so on.[1] It begins generally with a vocative, "Deus," "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus," "Domine Deus noster," always addressed to God the Father. Then we often have a dependent clause explaining why we pray: "qui" or "quia"; sometimes merely an apposition: "auctor ipse pietatis". Then comes the petition, often doubled in antithesis: "ut quod tremente servitio nos vovemus eius precibus efficiatur acceptum,"[2] "quod possibilitas nostra non obtinet eorum nobis postulatione donetur,"[3] or a double clause not antithetic: "continua securitate muniri et salutari gaudere profectu".[4] It is in the petition-clause especially that we find all manner of really beautiful phrases, compact, saying much in few words with beautifully condensed construction, such as is most characteristic of the weighty dignity of the Latin language. Greek is subtle, pliant, effervescent; Greek prayers in the Eastern rites are long poetic rhapsodies strewn with flowers of rhetoric. Latin is poor, austere, but with a stately dignity that exactly suits the Roman character.[5] So in the Roman Latin rite we have such tramping march of syllables as: "Sicut illis magnificentiam tribuit sempiternam, ita nobis perpetuum munimen operetur."[6]

Then comes the final clause "Per dominum nostrum," that ends all Western prayers. Who first wrote this no one knows. Whoever he was, he has immortalized himself by words that for centuries have closed our prayers with the splendid rhythm of their accent and the roll of their vowels. There is a definite rhythm in

[1] This encourages the idea that more specialized private prayers had preceded the collect.

[2] *Sacr. Leon.* ed. Feltoe, p. 39. [3] *Ib.* 8. [4] *Ib.* 43.

[5] "Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera" etc.

[6] *Sacr. Leon. ib.* 48.

the collects too—by stress-accent. The clauses end in recognized rhythmic forms. We have the cursus planus: "quǽsumus nóbis," "solemnitáte lætári," the cursus velox: "mirabíliter cóndidísti" and the rarer cursus tardus: "nátus est párticeps" in ordered sequence. The notes to which the cadences of the collects are sung [1] are arranged for these endings.

As an example of sequence of ideas, style and rhythm the collect for Dec. 24 in the Leonianum [2] may serve. It is well known as being now modified for the blessing of the water at Mass:

Address:	Deus
Dependent clause, doubled	qui humanæ substantiæ dignitatem
cursus velox	et mirabiliter condidisti
cursus velox	et mirabilius reformasti;
Petition in antithesis	da quæsumus nobis
cursus planus	eius divinitatis esse consortes
cursus tardus	qui humanitatis nostræ fieri dignatus est particeps
Adjuration (trinitarian)	Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum
cursus planus	
cursus velox	qui tecum vivit et regnat
cursus planus	in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus
	per omnia sæcula sæculorum [3]

Some later collects are addressed to God the Son, as that for Corpus Christi, by St. Thomas Aquinas; none to the Holy Ghost. The collect of Mass has become the prayer of the day, repeated throughout the canonical hours and used often for other occasions, so that "collect" has become the name for any short prayer more or less formed on the model of the Mass collect.

No Eastern rite has anything quite corresponding to our collect. The Western collect is the most characteristic example of a part of the Mass altogether

[1] The notes are given in the *Cærim. Episcoporum* i, 27 and at the end of the new (Vatican) missal.

[2] Ed. Feltoe, p. 159.

[3] The theology most happily expressed in this prayer will be found explained in Cabrol: *Les Origines liturgiques*, 110-112.

subject to the Calendar, variable every day, of which variability the Eastern rites have nothing, save the lessons. Nevertheless we may perhaps take the Kyrie, Gloria and Collect together as a group corresponding to the litany group of Antioch and other rites derived from it. The Eastern litany has a prayer said by the celebrant at its end. Now he says the prayer silently while the litany is sung.[1] Originally he sang the prayer aloud at the end. As then our Kyrie and Gloria correspond to the Antiochene litany and chant that follows, so we may compare our collect to the prayer of the litany.

The other Western rites all have a collect after the opening chants. Allowing for difference of style, (the Gallican "collectiones post prophetiam" are florid and ornate, as we should expect)[2] these correspond exactly to those of the Roman rite. It is one of the cases in which the West belongs to one group, the East to another.[3] So the change of the collect for the day is found all over the West too. In the Mozarabic liturgy it is called simply *Oratio*. It is never introduced by the word "Oremus". Further, in Spain the second Synod of Braga (in 563) ordered that bishops as well as priests should always use the form "Dominus vobiscum" (not "Pax vobis") and it ascribes any other greeting to the heresy of the Priscillianists.[4] The Mozarabic form became later: "Dominus sit semper vobiscum". This alone is still always used. At Milan the collect is called *Oratio super populum*. It is preceded always by "Dominus vobiscum".[5] Many Milanese collects are taken from Rome and are the

[1] With the last clause as an ἐκφώνησις.

[2] See the example for Christmas in Duchesne: *Origines*, 182-183.

[3] It is because of these cases that Dom Cagin and his colleagues group the other Western rites as originally Roman (see p. 99).

[4] Canon 3 (Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, iii, 179).

[5] Only Rome had the episcopal "Pax vobis," in the West.

same as those of the Gelasian book. And always the collect at Milan is Roman in type, short and reticent, as opposed to the long prayers of Gaul and Spain.

The Collect is said standing with uplifted hands, the old attitude of public prayer.

There was at one time at Rome a litany after the collects sung on chief feasts. This seems to be a mediæval rite, possibly borrowed from Gaul.[1] Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) mentions it.[2] It was called *Laudes* and consisted of prayers for the Pope. The archdeacon and other deacons began: "Exaudi Christe," the Scrinarii[3] answered: "Domino nostro papæ vita:" so the litany began; it continued: "Salvator mundi," then various Saints were invoked, the answer each time being: "Tu illum adiuva".[4] In the same way the laudes were made for the Emperor (when he was at peace with the Roman See). The litany ended with the verse: "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat," others and "Kyrie eleison".[5] It has left a trace in the acclamations made at this place in the Mass at a Pope's coronation.

[1] Rietschel says it was Gallican (*Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i, 365); but I find no trace of it in Germanus of Paris, or in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites.

[2] In the book of ceremonies he wrote as Roman Master of Ceremonies before he (Card. Cincio Savelli) became Pope. His book is Ordo Romanus XII (P.L. lxxviii, 1063-1106).

[3] Officials in charge of the archives (scrinium).

[4] P.L. lxxviii, 1064-1065.

[5] Various texts and other authorities for the laudes in Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii, 5, § 8. See also Martène: *de antiquis eccl. ritibus* (Antwerp, 1736-1738) Lib. i, cap. iv, art. 3 (i, 369-371).

CHAPTER VI.

THE LESSONS.

§ 1. The Lessons.

THE reading of sacred books has always been the chief part of the liturgy of the catechumens since the time of the Apostles. It is inherited from the Synagogue (pp. 3, 71) and is found in every rite in Christendom. Justin Martyr begins his account with the lessons (p. 20); we have seen many other allusions to them in the Apologists and Fathers of the third century (chap. i, §§ 3, 4). We have also seen that in the first three centuries not only the Bible but letters of bishops and acts of martyrs were read.

At first the number of lessons and the amount read were not fixed. In Justin the reader continues "as long as time allows" (p. 20). The celebrant made a sign when enough had been read. Then the gradual fixing of the whole service into set forms led to the fixing of the lessons too. More or less equal portions were appointed to be read (at first undoubtedly in continuation of one another) each time. These are the Pericopes.[1] We must conceive them at first as much longer than our present lessons. The Pericopes were marked in the margin of the Bible, as may still be seen in many early manuscripts. An Index (*συναξάριον*, capitularium) giving the first and last

[1] *Περικοπή*, a portion cut off.

words of each Pericope [1] made it easier to find them. A complete Capitularium for all lessons arranged in order is a *comes*, *liber comitis*, *liber comicus*. Such Indexes in Greek are known since the fourth century. [2] In the West St. Augustine's sermons on St. John show that the gospel was read in continuous order. [3] From him and from St. Peter Chrysologus († c. 450) we can deduce the order of lessons in Africa and at Ravenna in their time. [4] All through the middle ages people ascribed to St. Jerome († 420) the Comes that arranged the Roman lessons. [5] Probst accepts this. [6] Beissel shows reason to doubt its accuracy. [7] The sermons of Leo I and Gregory I tell us the order of lessons at Rome in their time. [8] Meanwhile the Comes, for greater convenience, instead of giving only headings, was arranged with the whole text, so it becomes a *Lectionarium*, or in separate books, an *Epistolarium*, *Evangelarium* etc. The Eastern Churches still have this arrangement; the lessons must be sought in the *Συναξάριον*, *Ἀπόστολος*, *Εὐαγγέλιον*, [9] etc.

As the portions to be read were fixed, so was the number of lessons. This too was at first indetermined (as in Justin Martyr). The reading of the Gospel as the fulfilment of the others, the "crown of all holy Scriptures" [10] seems always to have come last. But there was great variety as to the number of lessons before it. Apost. Const. (VIII, v, 11) has five altogether: "the reading of the Law and the Prophets

[1] Books were not paged and the division of the Bible into verses was not yet made.

[2] S. Beissel, S.J: *Entstehung der Perikopen* (Freiburg, 1907) p. 7.

[3] *Ib.* 41-42. [4] *Ib.* 41-51.

[5] See the quotations, *ib.* 52-53.

[6] *Lit. des iv Jahrh.*, 447-448, etc.

[7] *Op. cit.*, 52-59. [8] *Ib.* 59-65.

[9] Now containing the full text of acts of martyrs etc. for the office. These are the Byzantine books; the others correspond.

[10] Origen, *In Ioann.* i, 4 (P.G. xiv, 26).

and of our [1] Epistles and Acts and Gospels". The Syrian, Coptic and Abyssinian rites have several lessons before the Gospel.[2] Indeed in the Roman rite there are still Masses with a number of such lessons.[3] Then they were in most cases reduced to three, one from the Old Testament, one from the New (not a Gospel) and the Gospel. These are the Prophecy,[4] Epistle,[5] Gospel. That order obtained for some time. In the Byzantine rite St. John Chrysostom († 407) alludes to these three lessons.[6] The Armenian rite is derived from an earlier form of that of Constantinople. It still has these three.[7] The Gallican rite had the three,[8] as still has that of Toledo.[9] Lastly these three were in some liturgies further reduced to two only, a lesson (generally part of an Epistle) and a Gospel. The present Byzantine rite is in this state; it has an "Apostle" and a Gospel only.[10] As a result of Byzantine influence the Greek St. James and St. Mark rites now have only these two.[11] The Ambrosian Mass has three lessons (Prophecy, Epistle and Gospel) on all Sundays and feast days, on others only an Epistle and Gospel.

Our Roman rite has gone through these changes and each period has left its traces. First there was an undefined number of lessons (Justin Martyr); these were then reduced to three, Prophetia, Epistola,

[1] The Apostles are supposed to be speaking.

[2] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 76-78; 152-154; 255-258; 212-215.

[3] On Ember days and in Lent.

[4] From any part of the Old Testament, all of which is a prophecy of Christ.

[5] The New Test. exclusive of the Gospels is mostly Epistles.

[6] Hom. xxix in Act. (P.G. lx, 218); cfr. Brightman: *op. cit.* 470.

[7] Brightman, pp. 425-426. The older Armenian rite used the lectionary of Jerusalem. See p. 92, n. 5.

[8] Duchesne: *Origines*, 185.

[9] P.L. lxxxv, 109-111, etc.

[10] Brightman: *op. cit.* 371-372. This development took place since the IXth cent. The Barberini MS. still supposes three (*ib.* 314).

[11] *Ib.* 36, 118.

Evangelium. Since the VIIth century there have been normally only two, the prophetic lesson having dropped out, apparently as part of the shortening process that accounts for many changes in all liturgies.[1] So we have on the Ember Saturdays in Advent, Lent and after Pentecost seven lessons, on Ember Saturday in September six. The three lessons remain on many days, Good Friday, Wednesday in Holy Week etc. And at every Mass the two chants that we now commonly call the Gradual remain as evidence of the Prophecy and Epistle which they once followed (see p. 267).

The chief question about the lessons, and the most impossible to answer satisfactorily, is on what system, if any, the Pericopes for each Mass have been chosen. The same question occurs about all the Scriptural parts of the Proper (see e. gr. the Introit, p. 220). It is specially insistent here, because we should expect most of all in the lessons to find a regular system. We note first that as, a matter of course, on feasts that commemorate an incident of the Gospels the lessons are chosen to illustrate the occasion ; so also at other times they are taken for obvious reasons of appropriateness. The Vigil of Apostles has for its Gospel our Lord's words to them : " Vos amici mei estis " etc. (Joh. xv, 12-16), a martyr has the text about taking up one's cross and following Christ (Lk. xiv, 26-33), or the soul more valuable than life (Mt. xvi, 24-27) and so on.[2] The Epistles too are often obviously appro-

[1] *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne) i, 230: before Celestine I (422-432) " only the Epistle of St. Paul was recited and the holy Gospel." In St. Augustine's sermons we see that in Africa in the Vth cent. there were sometimes three lessons (Sermo xlv, 1 ; P.L. xxxviii, 262), sometimes only two (Sermo clxxvi, 1 ; *ib* 950 ; clxxx, 1 ; *ib*. 972). But the Würzburg lectionary (VIIIth cent.) still has three lessons. See p. 262 n. 5.

[2] Some such lessons are chosen very happily. Thus St. Monnica (May 4) has the story of the widow's son raised to life (Lk. vii, 11-16) ; St. John Damascene (March 27), of whom the story tells that his hand

priate. In all rites such exceptional lessons break the regular course. The difficulty is about the ordinary Sundays and weekdays in the Proprium Temporis.

Originally it seems clear that the books were read in continuous order, as they still are (with considerable abbreviations) at Matins. So the Epistle and Gospel of each Mass would continue where those of the last Mass ended. The text of the Apostolic Constitutions (II, lvii, 5-7)[1] implies this plainly enough. Many series of homilies preached in East and West follow the lessons in regular order.[2] The Diatessaron of Tatian (IInd cent.) is generally supposed to have been chosen for the purpose of continuous reading in church.[3] Cassian († 435) says that in his time the monks read the New Testament straight through.[4]

In the Eastern Churches this principle (with interruptions for feasts) still obtains.[5] The Byzantine Church, for instance, in her liturgical Gospels begins reading St. Matthew immediately after Pentecost, St. Luke follows from September, St. Mark begins before Lent and St. John is read in Easter-tide.[6] The Syrians have the same arrangement (evidently Antiochene in its origin), the Copts a different order, but based on the idea of continuous readings.[7] The

was cut off and restored miraculously, has the Gospel about the man with a withered hand (Lk. vi, 6-11).

[1] Ed. Funk i, 163; cfr. Ap. Const. VIII, v, 20 (*ib.* 477).

[2] E. gr. St. Augustine on the fourth gospel (P.L. xxxv, 1379-1976).

[3] See Martin in the *Revue des questions historiques*, 1883 (vol. xxxiii, 349-394) and Savi in the *Revue Biblique* 1893 (305-328).

[4] Coll. Patrum x, 14 (P.L. xlix, 844).

[5] See Scrivener: *Lectionary* in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities* (London, 1880) ii, 953-967.

[6] There are many interruptions; but the general principle is clear. See Nilles: *Kalendarium Manuale* (Innsbruck, 2 ed. 1897) pp. 444-452.

[7] Scrivener: *Introduction to the criticism of the New Test.* (London, 1894, i) Baudot: *Les Évangéliaires* (Paris, 1908) 24-32.

Byzantine Christians name their Sundays after the Gospels read on them; thus the fourth after Pentecost is the "Sunday of the Centurion" because Mt. viii, 5-13 is read in the liturgy of that day. But in the Roman rite the question is much more complex. We can find in our Missal hardly a trace of any system at all. The idea of continuous readings has become so overlain that there is nothing left of it. Father S. Beissel S.J. has made a study of a great number of Comites and Lectionaries[1] and has arrived at some interesting conclusions. His idea is that first the great feasts received lessons which suit them, without regard to the book from which these were taken. Then between them the intervals were filled up, working backwards and forwards. The Gospels are the chief question. First those for Easter and Holy Week were chosen. They are sufficiently obvious. Going back, the story of our Lord's fast was put at the beginning of Lent, his entry into Jerusalem and the anointing by Mary (Joh. xii, 1: "six days before the Pasch") at the end. This led naturally to the resurrection of Lazarus. Certain incidents from the end of his life filled up the interval. The Epiphany suggested, of course, the three manifestations it commemorates — the Wise men, Baptism and first miracle, then events of our Lord's childhood. Christmas has its obvious Gospels, Advent those of the day of Judgment and the preparation of the New Testament by St. John the Baptist. Going forward from Easter, Ascension day and Whitsunday obviously demanded their own lessons. The time from Easter to Ascension day was filled by our Lord's last messages in St. John (spoken on Maundy Thursday; the Gospels of the III and IV Sundays in Eastertide work backwards: III has Joh. xvi, 17-22; IV

[1] *Entstehung der Perikopen des Römischen Messbuches* (Freiburg 1907).

Joh. xvi, 5-14). The most difficult Sundays to explain are those after Pentecost. The Masses for these were once thought to be late; now they are found in Dom Wilmart's Cassinese Sacramentary.[1] Their Gospels seem to be meant to fill up what has not yet been told of our Lord's life. But even so their arrangement is hard to understand. There is no continuous order in reading any one Gospel; there is no trace of chronological order. It has been thought that they are suggested by the lessons of Matins. In some cases such a comparison is certainly tempting. Thus on the third Sunday after Pentecost we read how Saul sought his father's asses (I Reg. ix) in the first nocturn; in the third and at Mass we have the man who lost one sheep (Lk. xv, 1-10). On the fourth Sunday, in Nocturn i, David fights Goliath "in nomine Domini exercituum" (I Reg. xvii), in the Gospel St. Peter throws his net "in nomine tuo" (Lk. v, 1-11); on the fifth Sunday David mourns his enemy Saul (II Reg. i) and we are told in the Gospel to be reconciled to our enemies (Mt. v, 20-24). About the eighth Sunday (Dom. i. aug.) we begin to read the book of Wisdom, and in its Gospel the wise Steward is praised (Lk. xvi, 1-9). Sometimes the nearness of a feast may have affected the Sunday Gospel. In some Comites the Gospel of Lk. v, 1-11, in which our Lord tells St. Peter that he shall be a fisher of men, comes on the Sunday before June 29, or the story of St. Andrew and the multiplied bread (Joh. vi, 1-16) before Nov. 30.[2] But Beissel thinks that much of this may be coincidence and that no satisfactory explanation of the order of the Gospels, at any rate for the Season after Pentecost, can be given. Nor does his idea account for all the others (weekdays in Lent, etc.).

[1] See p. 123.

[2] Durandus notices this: *Rationale*, vi, 142; See also Beissel: *op. cit.* 195-196.

In the arrangement of our other lesson (the "Epistle") too we seem to find faint traces of an order now crossed by other influences. On fast days it is nearly always a lesson from the Old Testament.[1] Only on the Whitsun Ember Wednesday the note of Pentecost predominates, so that it has two lessons from Acts. The Acts were read in Easter-tide in Spain and Africa.[2] It may be a relic of this that they form the first lesson each day in Easter week (except Friday and Saturday—once fast-days).[3] Every Sunday (except Whitsunday) has an Epistle for its first lesson, the great majority are from St. Paul; but one can find no regular principle for their choice, neither continuous reading nor appropriateness to the Gospel. The feasts have, of course, suitable texts nearly always; our Lady generally has a lesson from Ecclesiasticus or the Song of Solomon about wisdom, applied mystically to her.

Our conclusion as to the Roman Pericopes then must be that whatever old system there may have been is now so overlain as to be really unrecognizable. Only here and there we seem to see traces of a definite idea in their order; but the choice of those for feasts is generally obvious enough. Perhaps our present arrangement represents the fusion of various systems. It is certainly very old. Beissel thinks that the lessons we read on the Sundays are those which St. Gregory I's lectors chanted thirteen centuries ago, and are perhaps as old as Damasus.[4]

We have said that the mediæval tradition ascribed the Roman lectionary to St. Jerome (p. 255). Berno

[1] So on all weekdays in Lent except Maundy Thursday, which has a festal Mass, and Holy Saturday (the first Easter Mass).

[2] Not originally at Rome, it seems (cfr. W. C. Bishop: *The African rite, Journ. Theol. St.* Jan. 1912, p. 264, note). For Africa cfr. St. Augustine: Tract vi in Joh. 18 (P.L. xxxv, 1433).

[3] But these lessons from Acts in Easter week are all appropriate in themselves. [4] Op. cit. 196.

of Reichenau (XIth cent.) says this;[1] it was then repeated constantly. There were many such comites in the early middle ages. Gennadius of Marseilles (Vth cent.) says that a certain Musæus, priest of that city, made one.[2] A codex at Fulda contains the Epistles as arranged by Victor Bishop of Capua in 545;[3] all are from St. Paul. Probst thinks that these are the same as the Roman ones of that time.[4] The oldest known Roman lectionaries are a Gospel-book of the VIIth century and a book of the other lessons (VIIIth cent.) now at Würzburg.[5] The *Luxeuil Lectionary*[6] is a Parisian book of the VIIth cent. Alcuin drew one up for Charles the Great.[7] See Beissel's book for the arrangement of these.[8]

It is better perhaps to realize that attempts to explain why certain lessons are read on certain Sundays by reasons of inner appropriateness, such as the mediæval liturgiologists loved, though often ingenious, are really vain. There does not generally seem a special connection between the Epistle and Gospel.[9] It remains, of course, true that any part of Scripture may be read with profit on any day. The preacher must be content with that.

§ 2. Epistle.

Not much remains to be said about each lesson separately. The Epistle is on most days our one

[1] *De quib. reb.* (P.L. cxlii, 1057). [2] *de vir. illustr.* 79.
[3] Ed. by Ranke (Berlin, 1868); cfr. Beissel: op. cit. 56-59.
[4] *Die ältesten röm. Sakram.* p. 33.
[5] See Dom. G. Morin in the *Rev. Bén.* xxvii (1910), pp. 41-74 and xxviii (1911), pp. 296-330.
[6] First published by Mabillon (in P.L. lxxii, 171-216). See Morin, *Rev. Bén.* x (1893), pp. 438-441.
[7] In Tomasi: *Opera omnia* (ed. Vezzosi, Rome, 1751) v.
[8] *Entstehung* u.s.w. (op. cit.). The standard work on the subject is still Ranke: *Das Kirchliche Perikopensystem*, Berlin, 1847. See also Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i, 223-228.
[9] Except always on the feasts.

surviving Scripture lesson before the Gospel. We speak of it usually as the Epistle; but often it is from another part of the Bible. It is announced in Mass more correctly as "Lectio," "Lectio libri Exodi" or "Lectio epistolæ b. Pauli apostoli ad Romanos". In the West the Epistle proper was often called "Apostolus," as in the East. So in the Gregorian Sacramentary: "deinde sequitur Apostolus."[1]

It was not originally the privilege of the subdeacon to read it. At first all lessons (including the Gospel) were read by Lectors.[2] The admonition to those about to be ordained subdeacon in the Roman Pontifical describes all their duties exactly, but says nothing about the Epistle. In the West as late as the Vth century the lessons were still chanted by readers.[3] Gradually the subdeacon obtained the right to sing the epistle, as a consequence of the deacon's privilege of singing the Gospel (p. 281). Only two ministers remained from the crowd of deacons, concelebrating priests and so on of earlier times, there were also only two lessons; one minister sang the Gospel, it seemed natural that the other should sing the epistle. Our first witness for this is Ordo Rom. I, in about the VIIth century: "Subdiaconus vero qui lecturus est, mox ut viderit post pontificem episcopos et presbyteros residentes, ascendit in ambonem et legit".[4] The ceremony of giving the subdeacon the book of Epistles at his ordination did not begin till the XIVth century.

[1] P.L. lxxviii, 25.

[2] The lector (*ἀναγνώστης*) was at first any man who could read. The Jews had appointed readers in the Synagogue, trained to read Hebrew. The practice of blessing overyone who had an office in church then led to services of ordination for a great number of officials, of which in the West our four minor orders survive. The first ordination of a Lector occurs in the Canons of Hippolytus, vii, 48 (ed. Achellis, p. 70). See article *Lector* in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

[3] See Reuter: *Das Subdiakonat* (Augsburg, 1890), 177, 185.

[4] § 10 (P.L. lxxviii, 942).

Durandus still finds it necessary to answer the question: "Why the subdeacon reads the lessons at Mass, since this does not seem to belong to him either from his name or from the office given to him?" [1] Indeed the missal still allows a lector to read the epistle at Mass, when no subdeacon is present.[2] Nor has any Eastern rite the association of Epistle and subdeacon, except the Maronites, who here too are Romanized.

The Epistle was read from the ambo, facing the people. Where there were two ambos, that on the north side was reserved for the Gospel (p. 281), the other for other lessons. Where there was one ambo it often had two platforms, a lower one for the epistle and a higher one for the gospel.[3] Sometimes there were three, one for each lesson. Ambos were built in churches down to the XIIIth century. There is no reason why they should not be built and used still, as they are at Milan.[4] The tradition of reading the epistle from the south ambo remains in that the subdeacon still reads it on the south side. His position towards the altar is quite anomalous, since he is reading to the people. It appears to have begun with the disuse of the ambo. People hear the epistle, as all lessons except the Gospel, sitting (so Ordo Rom I quoted above p. 263). The answer: "Deo gratias" is the common one after all lessons, originally a sign from the presiding bishop that enough has been read. Durandus notes that after the epistle the subdeacon goes to make a reverence to the celebrant and kisses his hand.[5]

Down to about the VIIIth century at Rome silence was commanded before the lessons,[6] as it is in the

[1] *Rationale*, ii, 8. [2] *Ritus celebr.* vi, 8.
[3] Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 16.
[4] For the ambo see the article *Ambon* in the *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne*, i, 1330-1347 (by Dom H. Leclercq).
[5] *Rationale*, iv, 17.
[6] See e. gr. Mabillon: *Musæum Italicum* ii, 79-80.

East. It may be noted that the title "Lectio libri Sapientiæ" is used for any of the so-called "Libri Sapientiales".[1] In the middle ages they farced sometimes even the lessons.[2]

§ 3. Gradual, Alleluia, Tract and Sequence.

The Gradual (Graduale, Grail) is one of the oldest, most interesting and most discussed[3] parts of the Mass.

The psalms sung between the lessons are not, like the Introit, Offertory and Communion, added merely to fill up the time while some action is performed. They are rather an integral part of the liturgy, as much as the lessons; they are sung for their own sake, originally the celebrant and his assistants did nothing but listen to them.[4] To alternate the readings with psalm-singing is universal in all liturgies. We have evidence of the custom from the earliest ages. It is derived from the Synagogue service, which had alternate lessons and chants (psalms). The idea is, no doubt, to give the people variety and to break the monotony of continual reading. Tertullian mentions the psalms between the lessons.[5] So also St. Augustine in one of his sermons: "We have heard first the lesson from the Apostle. . . . Then we sang a psalm. . . . After that the lesson of the Gospel showed us the ten lepers healed."[6] In the older liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions (in Book II) we are told: "The

[1] Prov., Eccl., Cant., Sap., Eccli.

[2] E. gr. at Salisbury the Epistle of the first Christmas Mass was farced all through with explanatory clauses: "Parvulus enim natus est nobis (Magnus hic erit Jesus Filius Dei) et filius (Patris summi) datus est nobis (ab arce summa prædictum sic erat)" and so on; ed. Burntisland, 50-51.

[3] Bona: *Rer. liturg.* ii, 6, §§ 4-6; Gihr: *Das h. Messopfer*, pp. 408-433; Duchesne: *Origines du culte*, pp. 160-163; Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* i, 365-368.

[4] Duchesne: *op. cit.* p. 161. [5] *De anima.* 9 (P.L. ii, 660).

[5] Sermo, clxxvi, 1 (P.L. xxxviii, 950).

readings by the two (lectors) being finished, let another sing the hymns of David and let the people sing the last words after him".[1] Originally it appears that one psalm was sung after each lesson, except the last. They were sung in East and West as a *psalmus responsorius*, that is, one lector sang each verse and the people answered it by some acclamation, either echoing the last cadences or adding an ejaculation,[2] as at the Invitatorium of Matins. At Rome a deacon sang the psalm, till St. Gregory I in 595 suppressed a custom which led deacons to think more of their voices than of weightier things.[3] But the psalm after the lesson always remained a solo with a chorus. In Ordo Rom. I it is called Responsum,[4] in Ordo III Responsorium.[5] It was sung from the lower part or step of the ambo, like the epistle; hence the name Gradale or Graduale. Hrabanus Maurus († 856) says that some people call this chant by that name;[6] eventually it became the usual one.[7] In the Gregorian Sacramentary it is Graduale.[8] In the middle ages there were various rules about the place at which the Gradual was sung. John Beleth says it is sung on ordinary days at the lower altar-steps, on feasts at the higher.[9]

We usually speak of all the chant between the epistle and Gospel as the Gradual. It consists however of two separate chants, of which the former alone is the Gradual. The second is the Alleluia, replaced on fast-days by the Tract. Their distinction is still

[1] *τὰ ἀποστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω*, ii, 57 (ed. Funk, p. 161).

[2] Ps. cxxxv provides for this by its chorus: "quoniam in æternum misericordia eius". So the Jews too had this custom.

[3] Duchesne: *op. cit.* 162. [4] P.L. lxxviii, 942. [5] *Ib.* 979.

[6] *De instit. cleric.* i. 33 (P.L. cvii, 323).

[7] Beleth: *Div. offic. explic.* 38 (P.L. ccii, 46); Honorius of Autun: *Gemma animæ* iii, 96 (P.L. clxxii, 575); Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 19 etc.

[8] P.L. lxxviii, 25.

[9] *Loc. cit.* Durandus says much the same (*loc. cit.*)

clearly marked by the fact that almost invariably they are sung to different melodies in different tones. Thus on Advent Sunday the Gradual is in tone 1 and 2 mixed, the Alleluia in tone 8. This marks the old arrangement of three lessons. The Gradual was sung after the Prophecy, the Alleluia before the Gospel.[1]

It is not easy to say when the Gradual was curtailed from a whole psalm to two verses. In St. Leo I's time (440-461) this had not yet happened: "We have sung the psalm of David with united voices".[2] But in the first antiphonaries we find our present arrangement.[3] For a long time, after the ambo had disappeared, the idea remained of singing the Gradual from a high place. We have seen that Beleth and Durandus speak of the steps of the altar. Sometimes a special pulpit was erected. Durandus describes the manner of singing the Gradual in his time thus: the singer chanted the first verse, the choir repeated it; he sang the second and they repeated the first; he sang the first again in a higher tone and it was again repeated.[4] Normally the two Gradual verses are from the same psalm; but there are many cases in which they are taken from other books of the Bible[5] or are not even biblical texts.[6]

The Vatican Gradual calls this chant "Responsorium, quod dicitur Graduale" and prefers that the first verse should be repeated by the choir after two cantors have sung the second.[7] This brings its form

[1] When there are three lessons this is still so; e. gr. Wednesday in Holy Week, etc.

[2] Sermo III, *in anniv. assumpt.* (P.L. liv, 145).

[3] E. gr. *Antiphon. S. Gregorii I* (P.L. lxxviii, 641, etc.). It is, of course, one more example of shortening the service.

[4] *Rationale*, iv, 19, § 8. Cfr. *Ordo Rom.* II, 7 (P.L. lxxviii, 974).

[5] For the Immaculate Conception (Dec. 8) from Judith xiii, 23, and xv, 10, etc.

[6] So at Requiems, for the VII Dolours (Friday in Passion Week), the Visitation (July 2), etc.

[7] "Quando magis id videtur opportunum:" *De ritibus serv.* iv.

back to the older one and makes it conform to the Responsories at Matins after the lessons, of which it is really a special example.

The second chant is the *Alleluia.* This ejaculation,[1] occurring constantly in the psalms, is also inherited from the Synagogue.[2] It occurs in many liturgies. In the Byzantine rite it is sung thrice at the end of the Cherubic hymn at the Great Entrance,[3] in the Gallican Mass it came at the same place.[4] Its use before the Gospel is a Roman speciality. At first it was sung only on Easter Day. So Sozomen: "At Rome alleluia is sung once a year on the first day of the Paschal feast, so that many Romans use this oath: may they hear and sing that hymn."[5] Before St. Gregory I it was sung throughout Easter-tide. It seems that at Rome the word was understood as a joyful ejaculation specially suitable for Easter.[6] There is no such idea in the East, where they sing it all the year round, even at funerals. In St. Gregory's time it began to be sung outside Easter-tide. This is one of the customs he defends as not taken from Constantinople, in his letter to John of Syracuse.[7] He says the alleluia was brought to Rome from Jerusalem by St. Jerome at the time of Damasus, that Rome does not sing it as do the Byzantines but cuts short its use ("magis in hac re consuetudinem amputavimus quæ hic a Græcis fuerat tradita"). Namely it still remains a joyful chant at Rome and is not sung on fast-days and at funerals.

[1] הללויה "praise the Lord". Our form comes through the Greek Ἀλληλούια.

[2] Tertullian mentions its liturgical use; *de orat*, 27 (P.L. i, 1194.)

[3] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 379.

[4] Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 160, n. 1.

[5] Hist. Eccl. vii, 19 (P.G. lxvii, 1476).

[6] We still have this principle and scatter alleluias throughout the office at Easter.

[7] Ep. ix, 11 (P.L. lxxvii, 955-958) see above, p. 135.

The essential place of the Alleluia in the Roman rite then is here, where it has displaced the second responsory psalm. It is sung twice; the second time its last sound (a) is drawn out in long neums by the music. This musical phrase is of great importance. It is mentioned and explained mystically by all the mediæval authors. They call it the *iubilus*, or *iubilatio*, or *cantilena*. To them it is much more than merely a place where the neums happen to be rather longer than usual. They see in the iubilus an inarticulate expression of joy, by which the mind is carried up to the unspeakable joy of the Saints.[1] After the iubilus a verse follows. This verse seems to be an old example of farcing which has maintained its place in the Proper. At least it is most natural to explain it as a text fitted to part of the long iubilus. It is found already in the various "Gregorian" antiphonaries.[2] Then the alleluia is repeated a third time and again has its iubilus. So our Alleluia-chant consists of three alleluias with two iubili and a verse. The verse (versus alleluiaticus) is by no means so commonly taken from the psalms as that of the Gradual.[3] There are many cases, especially on Saints' days, in which it is not a biblical text. So for St. Lawrence (10 Aug.) the alleluiatic verse is: "Levita Laurentius bonum opus operatus est, qui per signum crucis cæcos illuminavit".

There are two exceptions to the normal Alleluia,

[1] So Rupert of Deutz: *De officiis* i, 35 (P.L. clxx, 30); Sicardus: *Mitrale* iii, 3 (P.L. ccxiii, 105); Durandus: *Rationale* iv, 20, etc. See also Dom J. Pothier *Les mélodies Grégoriennes* (Tournai, 1881), Chap. xi (pp. 170-179) where the origin of the iubilus is discussed and many more authorities are quoted. The iubilus should never be omitted in a Sung Mass; it is as much part of the Proper as the text. If a Proper is composed in modern music, a modern iubilus should be composed for the alleluia (quite possible and rather interesting).

[2] E.gr. P.L. lxxviii, 641 etc.

[3] All farcings are later and less strict than other texts.

in Easter-tide and Lent. In Easter-tide[1] we have instead the *Great Alleluia*, which has displaced the Gradual and usual Alleluia. This is merely a case of the special association of that word with the joy of Easter. The great Alleluia consists of the word sung twice as a kind of antiphon; the second has the iubilus. Then comes a verse. So far we have the Easter form of the Gradual. The second chant (to a different tone) has Alleluia with its iubilus, an alleluiatic verse and then the alleluia and iubilus repeated. This Paschal great alleluia is in the Gregorian antiphonary.[2] But it is not used during the Easter octave. This seems strange, but is explained by the constant tendency of the greatest days to keep older arrangements. So Easter Day itself and its octave (to the Friday) have the normal (and older) Gradual and Alleluia, as throughout the year. White Saturday begins the Paschal arrangement.[3] The same association between alleluia and rejoicing accounts for the omission of the word in Lent, at funerals and on fast-days.[4] We have seen that this is a specially Roman idea. It was not so from the beginning. In St. Jerome's time alleluia was sung at funerals at Rome.[5] Then came this idea of dropping it at times of mourning and penance. That we do so was one of the many preposterous grievances of the Byzantines at the time of Cerularius' schism (1054).[6]

[1] The fifty days from Easter to Whitsunday and then the Whitsun octave. This is what St. Gregory I means by "tempus pentecostes" in his letter to John of Syracuse (above, p. 135).

[2] E.gr. P.L. lxxviii, 681 etc.

[3] So also with regard to many things, hymns in the office, the three nocturns at matins etc. which begin after the Mass of Sabb. in albis. This too is in the Gregorian antiphonary (*ib.* 678).

[4] But the Whitsun emberdays keep the alleluia, as coming in the octave of so great a feast. A few vigils keep the alleluia too; e.gr. those of Epiphany, Ascension Day, Pentecost.

[5] Ep. lxvii § ii (P.L. xxii, 697).

[6] Will: *Acta et Scripta de controv. eccl. Græc. et Latin.* (Leipzig,

In Lent then and on some of the other fast-days[1] we have for the second chant, instead of the alleluia, a *Tract.* This is the old second psalm, originally sung after the second of the three lessons, now displaced (except on these days) by the Alleluia. Ordo Rom. I gives us the whole arrangement: "After he has read,[2] a singer with his singing-book[3] goes up and sings the Responsum (Gradual). If it be the time to say Alleluia, good, if not, the Tract; and if not that, at least the Responsum."[4] So we see exactly our present practice. The Gregorian antiphonary has tracts instead of alleluias from Septuagesima.[5]

The name Tract (tractus) comes from the way it was sung. From early days this second psalm was chanted straight through by the lector, without an answer by the people (in uno tractu). So the first (Gradual) was a Responsum, the second a Tractus.[6] In fact this was the old way of chanting psalms, before the Antiphonary way came to the West from Antioch, in the IVth century.[7] Later writers explain the word *tractus* wrongly as meaning the slow and mournful way it was sung.[8] Like the Gradual, the Tract was chanted on the steps of the ambo.[9] There are still some days on which the tract keeps its original character as a whole psalm sung straight through.[10] Generally it consists

1861) 122-123. If anyone wants to see how silly a heated controversialist can become, he should read that list of grievances.

[1] Some fast-days not in Lent have no second chant at all, only a Gradual (Ember Fridays and some vigils).

[2] The Epistle. [3] Cum cantatorio.

[4] P.L. lxxviii, 942. [5] *Ib.* 655.

[6] So Amalarius of Metz: *De eccl. offic.* iii, 12 (P.L. cv, 1121); cfr. Duchesne: *Origines*, 108.

[7] At the time of St. Ambrose (above, p. 218).

[8] Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 21. [9] Ordo Rom. I, quoted above.

[10] First Sunday of Lent (Ps. xc), Palm Sunday (P. xxi), Good Friday (Ps. cxxxix). They are in the version of the Psalterium Romanum (the Itala text revised by St. Jerome), not in his new translation (Psalterium Gallicanum) as in the Breviary. See p. 223.

of an indefinite number of verses from various psalms or other Scriptures, grouped to express the same idea. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent[1] (except Wednesday in Holy Week) have the same tract, a prayer for forgiveness from Ps. cii and lxxviii.[2] Each verse of the tract is marked V. This is a reminder that it is sung straight through. It has no Responses.

On five occasions we still have a Sequence, "Victimæ paschali" at Easter, "Veni Sancte Spiritus" at Pentecost, "Lauda Sion" for Corpus Christi, "Stabat Mater" for the Seven Dolours and "Dies iræ" at Requiems. This is all the reform of Pius V has left of a once prolific development.

The *Sequence* (Sequentia, Prosa) is the best-known example of mediæval farcing. It began as farcing of the long neum at the end of the alleluia, the iubilus,[3] as did the alleluiatic verse. The first sequences are attributed to Notker Balbulus of St. Gallen († 912). There was at his time no clear manner of writing musical notes, the neums (without lines) were only suggestions for people who already knew the melody by heart. It was then difficult to remember them, especially the long neums of the iubilus which accompanied no words. A monk from Jumièges came to St. Gallen; Notker saw that in his books words were fitted to the notes of neums, apparently only as a help to memory. Notker then, following this example,

[1] The old "feriæ legitimæ," the official days of penance that keep several liturgical specialities (the office for the dead, gradual and penitential psalms etc.)

[2] Good Friday has no gradual, but two tracts, one after the Prophecy and one after the Epistle. Holy Saturday keeps so much of its nature as a vigil that it has a tract after the alleluia.

[3] This does not mean that all or any of the notes of our sequences were originally neums of a iubilus. But the idea of adding a poem at this place began as a farcing of the iubilus. Once the idea was admitted, numberless sequences were written, composed and added at this point.

adapted texts to the iubilus for all feasts in the year. His adaptations were so attractive that they were no longer used merely as a kind of memoria technica, but were actually sung in churches.[1] These texts were Sequentiæ,[2] as following the official Gradual; or Prosæ, inasmuch as they obeyed no particular rule of metre. None of Notker's sequences survived the reform of the missal. There is some discussion as to the authenticity of many usually attributed to him.[3] However those admitted[4] show that he established the style that is characteristic of the earlier sequences. They are in short lines of numbered syllables, free from rules of quantity, without regular accent. Many more playful ornaments, not tolerated in hymns, such as rhyme and alliteration, are found in sequences. For instance:

"O culpa nimium beata
qua redempta
est natura."[5]

Or these later ones:

"Verbum bonum et suave
Personemus illud Ave
Per quod Christi fit conclave
Virgo mater filia."[6]

[1] Dreves: *Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung* (Leipzig 1909) i, 102-103 gives a short account of Notker's life and invention.

[2] Originally one of the names of the iubilus. Amalarius: *de off. eccl.* iii, 16 (P.L. cv, 1123).

[3] W. Wilmanns: *Welche Sequenzen hat Notker verfasst?* in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* xv, 267, seq.; J. Werner: *Notker's Sequenzen* (Aarau, 1901). Notker composed a *Liber Sequentiarum* and dedicated it to Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli. Only about 15 of its sequences are admitted as authentic by all.

[4] Specimens of Notker's sequences may be seen in Dreves, *op. cit.* i, 103-110. Cfr. Daniel: *Thesaurus hymnol.* ii, 3-31.

[5] From Notker's Christmas sequence: *Eia recolamus*, Dreves, *op. cit.* i, 104.

[6] Dreves, ii, 269.

"Salve sancta parens
Rosa spinis carens,
Seda nobis bella,
Ave maris stella." [1]

The echo of, or allusion to some well-known line of a hymn is very common. The sequence was always a more "popular" composition than the comparatively stern, sedate hymns of the office. Musically it was at first strictly syllabic. One punctum was sung to each syllable. This follows from its origin. The neums of the iubilus were separated into single notes (puncta), one for each syllable.[2] During the middle ages sequences grew prolifically and were enormously popular. They were admitted later and less willingly in Italy. Italian missals have, as a rule, only three or four. In Spain the Mozarabic rite never admitted this development. But North of the Alps and Pyrenees sequences were composed in vast numbers, so that every local mediæval rite had quantities, one for almost every Mass.[3] After Notker, Adam of St. Victor († 1192),[4] Ekkehart of St. Gallen († 973),[5] Gottschalk of Limburg († 1098),[6] Thomas of Celano († c. 1250)[7] are the most famous writers of sequences. The later compositions follow the original principles less closely, though the free measure, rhyme and (comparatively) syllabic music are noticeable in nearly all. There were then curious developments in sequences, such as one

[1] *Missale Sarum*: Offic. B.M.V. *Vultum* (ed. Burntisland 772*).

[2] A common practice was that every line should end with the vowel A, as the whole sequence developed out of the long iubilus on the final A of Alleluia. So *O culpa nimium beata*, above. The rules of grammar and style are often neglected.

[3] A great number of sequences will be found in Daniel: *Thesaurus hymnologicus* (Leipsig, 1841-1856) ii and v; Neale: *Sequentiæ ex missalibus* (London, 1852); Blume and Dreves: *Analecta hymnica medii ævi*, vii-xliv; J. Kehrein: *Lateinische Sequenzen des M.A.* (1873); J. Mone: *Lat. Hymnen des M.A.* (1853-1855) 3 vols. etc.

[4] Dreves: *Ein Jahrtausend*, i, 257-277. [5] *Ib.* 122-124

[6] *Ib.* 184-192. [7] *Ib.* 328-331.

would expect in popular compositions; there were dramatic poems, divided between various groups, like the "Victimæ paschali". Strangest of all were the vernacular sequences in France and Germany, or those partly vernacular and partly Latin. So a missal of Strassburg has this version of the popular "Verbum bonum" sequence:

"Ein verbum bonum und suave
Sand dir Gott, der heisset Ave,
Zehande wert du Gotz conclave
Mutter, mag et filia.
Du mitte wurdest Salutata
Vom heilgen geiste fecundata
Von herr Davitz Stammen nata
On dorne sind den lilia."[1]

Constantly sequences were modelled on older ones, already popular, to whose notes they were sung. Then the sequence became a recognized form of composition and people wrote sequences, as you might write a Sonnet, with no idea that it should be sung in Mass. There were so-called sequences about wine and beer; one John Nass wrote one about Martin Luther: "Invicti Martini laudes intonent Christiani". It was time the development of Notker's idea should stop.

In nothing does the prudence of the Tridentine reformers so shine as in their treatment of the question of sequences. At that time there was a perfect plethora of these compositions. The great number had little or no value either as poetry or devotional works; the whole idea of the sequence was merely a late farcing, and it lengthened the Mass unduly, making a great interval between the Epistle and Gospel, where already the Gradual and Alleluia were long enough. Would it not be simplest to sweep the

[1] Neale; *Sequentiæ ex missalibus*, xxix-xxx. These vernacular sequences were sung in Mass in many dioceses.

whole thing away? Yet there were a few sequences that it would have been really a pity to lose. So the commission abolished the vast crowd of inferior ones and kept the very best, just five. Its idea was not to keep the sequences of the chief feasts (Christmas and Epiphany lost theirs) but to keep those that were finest in themselves.[1] Of course this is largely a matter of taste. One may still regret some that have gone. One would have liked to keep at least one of those of the original inventor, Notker Balbulus; or one may wish that Venantius Fortunatus' magnificent processional hymn for Easter, "Salve festa dies" had survived as a sequence.[2] But on the whole there can be no doubt that the five we have are the finest. Without cumbering every Mass with long poems, we have the principle of the sequence and the very best of the old ones.

Victimæ paschali (for Easter) is by Wipo († c. 1048), chaplain of the Emperor Conrad II; who is believed also to have composed its magnificent tune.[3] It was written as a Mass sequence, but the dialogue form of its second part caused it to be very popular in the middle ages in the Resurrection drama or mystery play, performed in many churches after the third responsory of matins, before the Te Deum.[4] Certain actors (boys for the three Maries, angels,

[1] Unless they kept the five used at Rome.

[2] But the "Victimæ paschali" is, of course, still finer. However, it is really a pity that room for "Salve festa dies" (Dreves: *Ein Jahrtausend*, i, 39-40) was not found in some part of the office.

[3] Dreves (*ib.* p. 147) thinks that the tune has been the chief reason of this sequence's popularity. Certainly the clanging melody (like the blare of trumpets) is one of the very finest pieces of plainsong we have. It seems the perfect musical expression of Easter. And its immemorial connection with the words makes it almost incredible that anyone should ever want to replace it by a modern composition.

[4] Matins had a ninth (at Easter a third) responsory besides the Te Deum throughout the middle ages, as still in the monastic office (cfr. Batiffol: *Hist. du Bréviaire romain*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1911, pp. 127-128).

apostles, etc.) went to the Easter Sepulchre and sang dialogues representing the story of Easter morning ("Quis revolvet nobis ab ostio lapidem?" . . . "Quem quæritis o tremulæ mulieres?" and so on) into which the "Victimæ paschali" was fitted. Then all joined in the Te Deum.[1]

For some reason the reformers of 1570 left out the sixth verse:

> "Credendum est magis soli
> Mariæ veraci
> Quam Iudæorum turbæ fallaci."

The changing metre, occasional rhyme and picturesque text of the Victimæ paschali make it a most characteristic example of a sequence.

Perhaps even more beautiful is the Whitsun sequence: *Veni Sancte Spiritus.* This poem (once attributed to King Robert the Pious or Innocent III) was composed by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, as a contemporary monk bears witness.[2] Other sequences modelled on it may be seen in Dreves' collection.[3]

St. Thomas Aquinas († 1274) composed a complete office for Corpus Christi, including the sequence: *Lauda Sion.* This too would have been a grievous loss, had it disappeared in 1570. It is a quite wonderful statement of scholastic theology with poetic mysticism, in short rhymed verses. Its form is based on the sequence: Laudes crucis attollamus" of Adam of St. Victor.[4]

Jacopone da Todi (Iacobus de Benedictis), O.F.M. († 1306) wrote the *Stabat mater dolorosa.*[5] It was not

[1] A detailed account of this curious ceremony will be found in C. Lange: *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Munich, 1887). For the introduction of the sequence see pp. 59-76.

[2] See Pitra: *Spicilegium solesmense* (Paris, 1855), vol. iii, p. 130.

[3] *Ib.* ii, 161-162. [4] *Ib.* i, 262-263.

[5] His authorship is however not quite certain (Dreves: *ib.* i, 391).

composed as a sequence, but merely as a poem with no liturgical function. It occurs first in private prayer-books, then from the XVth century as the sequence for the new Mass: "de compassione b. Mariæ". It has kept this place for the two feasts of the Seven Dolours. It was often imitated. So the anonymous: "Stabat iuxta Christi crucem,"[1] "Stabat mater speciosa" for Christmas etc.

Most people will agree that our sequence for Requiems: *Dies iræ* is the finest of all. It is attributed most probably to Thomas of Celano, O.F.M. († c. 1250), one of St. Francis' first companions.[2] This too was not meant originally as a sequence.[3] It is a magnificent poem about the day of judgment, used at first for private devotion. But already in the XIIIth century it appears in some missals as a sequence for Requiem Masses. In the XVth century its use spread enormously. The six last lines ("Lacrimosa dies illa" etc.) were added awkwardly to fit it for this purpose. They are not part of the original poem, break the triple rhyme and suddenly introduce the dead man ("Huic ergo parce Deus"), of whom no mention has yet been made. Daniel says that the Dies iræ is "by the consent of all the highest ornament of sacred poetry and the most precious jewel of the Latin Church".[4] Certainly it would be difficult to find any hymn more magnificent than this tremendous picture of the Last Day, whose famous "triple hammerstrokes"[5] have awed countless souls. It was natural that so famous and so splendid a poem should be imitated. So there were a number of anonymous sequences, such as:

[1] *Ib.* ii, 248. [2] Dreves, *ib.* i,3 28-329.

[3] The Requiem Mass has no Alleluia nor iubilus; hence it has not strictly a place for a sequence.

[4] *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, ii, 103.

[5] A favourite description among Germans; Dreves, *loc. cit.*

" Dies ista, dies læta
Lætos facit absque meta
Pro sanctorum gloria "

for St. Peter and St. Paul,[1] all very poor parodies.

Certain hymns and proses that we now sing on other occasions have been used as sequences. Durandus names the Salve Regina[2] as a sequence.[3] We may note, lastly, that although the sequence began as the farcing of the last alleluia, now (and already in the mediæval uses) it is inserted before that alleluia.[4]

The sequence is peculiar to the Roman and its derived rites. Neither Milan nor the Mozarabic liturgy, still less the Eastern liturgies, know it.

But the complex of psalms and verses between the lessons has corresponding arrangements in all rites. The Apostolic Constitutions do not mention it, probably because the description of the lessons there (viii, 5, 11) is very summary. Antioch and its derived rites have short verses, called *προκείμενον*, before the Epistle, and alleluia after it.[5] The Nestorians have long psalms and hymns between their lessons.[6] The Greek St. Mark has an alleluia with a "prologue,"[7] the Copts have the Trisagion,[8] the Abyssinians a similar hymn and again the Trisagion at this place.[9] At Milan there are a Psalmellus after the first lesson, halleluyah and a verse after the epistle; except in Lent when they sing a Cantus (our tract) instead. On great feasts

[1] Dreves, *op. cit.* ii, 347.

[2] By Herimann of Reichenau († 1054), but also attributed to others (Dreves, *op. cit.* i, 153-156).

[3] *Rationale*, iv, 22.

[4] For the sequence in general see also Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii, 7 § 6, The texts of our five sequences are expounded piously by N. Gihr: *Die Sequenzen des röm. Messbuches* (Freiburg, 1887). Julian: *Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, 1892) gives an account of each under its name. Further bibliography in the *Kirchenlexikon* s.v. *Sequenzen.*

[5] Brightman: *Eastern liturgies*, St. James, p. 36; Constantinople, p. 371; Armenian, pp. 425-426.

[6] *Ib.* pp. 256-260. [7] *Ib.* 118. [8] *Ib.* 155. [9] *Ib.* 215-216.

there is also a special Antiphona ante evangelium. The Mozarabic rite has after the first lesson verses with the title "Psallendo" and then a form of the Benedicite.[1] The Benedicite at this place still remains at Milan on some days.[2]

In some Western Churches the Gospel was considered part of the *arcanum*, and the Catechumens were dismissed before it was read.[3] It seems that this was the custom at Rome. There is no direct evidence as to the moment of their expulsion; but it may be inferred as coming before the Gospel from the fact that there was a solemn "traditio evangelii" to them in one of the scrutinies before Lent.[4] So we must no doubt place the Roman dismissal of the Catechumens about this place. Everywhere else it was after the gospel or sermon.

§ 4. Gospel.

The Gospel is always the last lesson, in the place of honour. Originally it was read, like the other lessons, by a lector. So St. Cyprian ordained a certain Aurelian lector, that he might "read the Gospel which forms martyrs".[5] Then gradually the sense of the Gospel's unique importance led to the idea that a higher minister should read it. Sozomen says that at Constantinople on Easter Day the bishop did so; at Alexandria it was read by the archdeacon; "in other places deacons read the Gospel, in many churches priests only".[6] St. Jerome († 420) speaks of the deacon as reader of the Gospel;[7] so also Apost. Const. II, lvii, 7.[8] From the Vth century, this became more and

[1] P.L. lxxxv, 110, 533-534, etc. [2] Duchesne: *Origines*, 186.
[3] This is forbidden by the Synods of Orange in 441 (Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, ii, 444) and Valencia in 524 (*ib.* 1067).
[4] So the Gelasian Sacr. (ed. Wilson, 50-52) and Ordo rom. vii, 5 (P.L. lxxviii, 997).
[5] Ep. 33 (P.L. iv, 328). [6] H.E. vii, 19 (P.G. lxvii, 1477).
[7] Ep. 247, § 6 (P.L. xxii, 1200). [8] Ed. Funk, p. 161 and note 7.

more the deacon's special privilege.[1] It was natural that the highest assistant at Mass should perform the highest office, after that of actually consecrating. Later this privilege is expressed by handing a Gospel-book to the deacon at his ordination. A Spanish Liber ordinum of the IXth century already has this ceremony with the formula: "Ecce fili evangelium Christi accipe, ex quo annunties bonam gratiam fideli populo".[2] So for many centuries in all rites the deacon reads the Gospel.[3]

He did so from the ambo, half way down the church, whence it could best be heard. The Gospel ambo was on the North side, whence he faced South. The reason given for this is that the men stood on the South side.[4] The procession to the ambo was the chief ceremony of the Mass before the Canon. The first documents[5] already describe this as a stately rite. The deacon first asked the Pontiff's blessing and kissed his feet. The blessing was "Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis".[6]. The prayer "Munda cor meum," etc., appears first in Ordo Rom. XIV, 53[7] (XIVth cent.); it is missing in many missals even of the XVIth century.[8] A similar prayer is said by the celebrant in St. James' liturgy at the incensing before the lessons.[9]

[1] So the Council of Vaison in 529, can. 2 (Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. 1112, n. 3).

[2] Férotin: *Le Liber Ordinum* (*Monumenta eccl. liturgica*, vol. v, Paris, 1904), col. 50.

[3] An exception that lasted through the middle ages was that on Christmas night the Emperor, vested in rochet and stole, sang the Gospel: "Exiit edictum a Cæsare Augusto" etc. (Mabillon: *Musæum Italicum*, i, 256).

[4] So Ordo Rom. II, 8 (P.L. lxxviii, 972); Micrologus 9 (P.L. cli, 982); cfr. 1 Cor. xiv, 35-36.

[5] Ordo Rom. I, 11 (P.L. lxxviii, 942-943); Ordo Rom. II, 8 (*ib.* 971-972).

[6] Ordo Rom. I, II and III, 10 (*ib.*, 980). [7] P.L. lxxviii, 1160.

[8] Thalhofer: *Handbuch der Kath. Liturgik*, ii, 120.

[9] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 33; Bona: *Rerum lit.* ii, 7 (p. 375).

In Ordo Rom. VI the deacon prays: "Domine, labia mea aperies; et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam."[1] Then the deacon, holding aloft the Gospel-book, with subdeacons, incense, lights, goes to the ambo.[2] The "Dominus vobiscum," announcement of the Gospel ("Sequentia," etc.), and sign of the cross are in Ordo Rom. II.[3] Durandus says that the cross was borne to the ambo.[4] To incense the book is a later custom; Sicardus of Cremona († 1215) mentions it.[5] At first incense was only carried in the procession. Down to the VIIth or VIIIth century silence and attention were commanded before the Gospel: "State cum silentio audientes intente!" or some such formula,[6] as still in all Eastern rites.[7] During the Gospel everyone stood bareheaded, as a mark of special respect, in the attitude of a servant who receives his master's orders. This is described in nearly all early accounts.[8] People who carried sticks laid them down,[9] but the bishop holds his crozier.[10] In the later middle ages certain great people, such as the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, drew their swords when the Gospel was read.[11] At the end of the Gospel the book was at first taken to all people present, to be kissed.[12] Honorius III (1216-1227) forbade this; but it is still kissed by any high prelates who may be present.[13]

[1] P.L. lxxviii, 991. [2] Ordo Rom. I and II (*loc. cit.*)
[3] P.L. lxxviii, 972. [4] *Rationale*, iv, 24, § 16.
[5] *Mitrale*, iii, 4 (P.L. ccxiii, 110).
[6] Cfr. Atchley: *Ordo Rom. I*, 76.
[7] E. gr. Byzantine, Brightman, *op. cit.* 372 etc.
[8] Ordo Rom. II, 8 (P.L. lxxviii, 972); *Liber Pont.* (Anastasius I), ed. Duchesne, I, 218; so also Apost. Const. II, lvii, 8. Sozomen is indignant that the Patriarch of Alexandria sat during the Gospel (H.E. vii, 19; P.G. lxvii, 1477); "which I have never seen or heard done anywhere else".
[9] Ordo Rom. II (*loc. cit.*). [10] *Cær. Episc.* II, viii, 41, 46.
[11] Bona: *Rerum lit.* ii, 7, § 3 (p. 377).
[12] Ordo Rom. II, 8 (*ib.*).
[13] Gihr: *Das h. Messopfer*, 445 n. 1; and *Cær. Ep.* i, 30.

The incensing of the celebrant after the Gospel is first mentioned by Ordo Rom. V, 7.[1]

The people made various answers after the Gospel. Like the "Deo gratias," after other lessons, these answers may have begun by the sign given by the celebrant that enough had been read. They then became popular exclamations which were naturally different in different churches. "Amen" was common,[2] or "Deo gratias," or "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini".[3] "Laus tibi Christe," which we now say at Low Mass, is rather later.[4]

That the deacon while singing the Gospel turns to the North or North-West instead of to the South is an early example of the reaction of Low Mass on High Mass. At Low Mass the celebrant goes to the North side, as the deacon would, and then turns as much towards the people as the place of the book on the altar will allow. The deacon at High Mass then imitated him.[5]

All Eastern rites make much of the reading of the Gospel. In the Antiochene and Byzantine group the procession to the ambo is the so-called "Little Entrance" (*μικρὰ εἴσοδος*), the chief ceremonial feature of the liturgy of the catechumens. In every part of Christendom enormous reverence was always shown to the book of the Gospels. The book was written with every possible splendour—sometimes entirely in gold or silver letters on vellum stained purple—and bound in gorgeous covers with carved ivory, metal-work, jewels. Sometimes relics are set in the bindings. To this day

[1] P.L. lxxviii, 987.

[2] Beleth: *Rationale*, 39 (P.L. ccii, 48), Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 24, § 30. St. Benedict's rule, xi (ed. Wölfflin, Teubner, Leipzig, 1895, p. 25).

[3] Durandus, *ib.* [4] Gihr, *op. cit.* 444.

[5] *Micrologus* notes the fact and gives this explanation of it (9; P.L. cli, 982).

the Gospel book is generally the handsomest object in a Byzantine church, where it displays its enamels on a special desk just outside the Ikonostasion. The Gospel was often carried aloft in processions and was placed on a throne or altar as presiding at Synods. The meaning of all this is that the book was used as a symbol of our Lord himself. It is certainly a suitable one. More than a statue or cross the book that contains his words may stand as a symbol of his presence.[1]

§ 5. Homily and Creed.

Since the Sermon which follows the Gospel on Sunday is in the vulgar tongue and since Protestants think so much of preaching, it might be thought that this is a modern addition to the Mass. On the contrary, the homily after the lessons is one of the oldest elements of the liturgy. We have seen St. Paul preaching at the holy Eucharist (Act. xx, 11, see p. 6) and Justin Martyr tells us that "when the reader has finished, the President warns and exhorts us in a speech to follow these glorious examples" (1 Apol. lxvii, 4). The long line of early Christian homilies, from the one known as the Second Epistle of Clement down to those of the IVth and Vth century, then on to St. Bernard and the mediæval preachers, shows us that the Catholic Church has always kept the habit of teaching and exhorting her children by her ministers. The great number of homilies of Fathers on the Gospel and other lessons, the frequent allusions in them to the fact that these things have just been read[2] show too that the regular place for the sermon

[1] More about early and mediæval uses of the Gospel-book (sometimes superstitious) will be found in Beissel and Baudot (*op. cit.*). On the reading of the Gospel in the Liturgy see a series of articles in the *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. I.

[2] See e. gr. Origen, above p. 30, St. Augustine, p. 265, etc.

was after the lessons. The priest who preaches to his people after the Gospel on Sunday morning follows the example of his predecessors in all ages back to the Apostles, and performs what is really an element of the liturgy itself—especially if his sermon explains the lessons, if he "exhorts them to follow these glorious examples".[1] In most mediæval uses the idea that the Creed is an expansion of the Gospel, naturally joined to it, led to putting the sermon after the Creed.[2] At Rome itself the homily was rare. Sozomen in the Vth century, quoting examples of different customs, says that at Alexandria only the bishop preaches and at Rome "neither the bishop nor anyone else teaches the people in church".[3] But the sermons of St. Leo I and St. Gregory I show that this is an exaggeration.

Since about the IXth century a custom arose, North of the Alps, of making a general confession and absolution after the sermon. It spread in Germany and Gaul and eventually found its way to Rome. Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 mentions it.[4] We still have this at a Pontifical High Mass.[5]

All liturgies now contain a *Creed;* but this is no part of the original arrangement. In every case the

[1] May one offer a suggestion? It is possible to preach on the Epistle too. The Gospel is, of course, the chief thing. Naturally first we explain that. But when year after year we say the same things about the same Gospels our people get to know them. Meanwhile the Epistles offer a very rich and almost unworked mine.

[2] Durandus supposes this: *Rationale*, iv, 26. Sometimes, at any rate in England, the sermon came after the Offertory, so the Pardoner in the *Canterbury Tales*:

> "But alderbest he sang an offertorie;
> For wel he wiste, whan that song was songe,
> He moste preche and well affyle his tonge."

(Prologue, 710-712. Skeat's *Chaucer*, Oxford, 1901, p. 428).

[3] Hist. Eccl. vii, 19 (P.G. lxvii, 1477).

[4] P.L. lxxviii, 1162; also Durandus: *Rat.* iv, 26, § 5. Cfr. Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i, 369-371.

[5] *Cær. Episc.* i, 22, § 4.

creed is a late addition. The old use of creeds is not at the holy Eucharist; they began as professions of faith made before baptism. The Apostles' Creed is nearly the old Roman baptismal form; it still keeps its place at baptism.[1] It is also a very naïve mistake to think that all Christendom ever agreed in recognizing one, or two, or three creeds as final, authoritative and quasi-inspired documents. A creed is simply a statement of certain chief points of the faith, drawn up by some council, bishop, or even private person, for use at baptism or (later) other function. There have been scores of creeds made by all kinds of people; their authority is just that of the people who made and use them. No creed contains the whole faith, from any point of view. No creed even pretends to be inspired · none is a final standard in itself, but must rather be measured by its conformity to another standard, like any other ecclesiastical document. To appeal to "the creeds" is almost as futile as to appeal to introits or collects. One must first say which creeds and why.[2]

However among the innumerable creeds that have been drawn up at various times none has acquired so much fame as the one made by the Council of Nicæa (325) afterwards modified and extended, perhaps by the Council of Constantinople (381),[3] and then again extended in the West by the addition of the fateful *filioque* clause. This is the form used in most liturgies.

[1] Kattenbusch: *Das apostolische Symbol*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1894-1900), an almost exhaustive study, and W. Sanday: *Recent Research on the Origin of the Creed* (*Journ. Theol. Studies*, I, 1900, pp. 3-22).

[2] On creeds in general see Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche* (Breslau, 1897).

[3] But it is doubtful how far the Council of Constantinople had anything to do with it. A view that seems to gain ground is that the so-called Nicene Creed in its enlarged form is a baptismal symbol composed at Jerusalem at the time of St. Cyril († 386), adopted at Constantinople between 381 and 451. (See Duchesne: *Eglises Séparées*, Paris, 1905, 79-80). The original creed of Nicæa in Denzinger: *Enchiridion* no. 54 (ed. x, Freiburg, 1907, pp. 29-30).

But its liturgical use is an after-thought. It was not till comparatively late, when people were used to the declaration of faith as a protest against heretics, that it occurred to them as a suitable addition to the public Eucharistic service. It was then inserted, not always in the same place. In the West it appears at Mass first in Spain, as a protest against the Arians. The third Synod of Toledo in 589 orders that it should be said after the Consecration, before the Pater noster, as a preparation for communion.[1] From Spain it spread to the Frankish kingdom. Walafrid Strabo says that it was used at Mass in Gaul after the example of the East,[2] as a medicine against heretics.[3] It already had the *filioque*. Pope Leo III (795-816), hearing of this, allowed it to be said, but forbade the addition of the *filioque*, advised that it should not be used at all in the Emperor's chapel and said that at Rome the creed was not said at Mass, but only used in teaching catechumens.[4] This attitude of the Pope seems to have discouraged its use in Gaul to some extent. Amalarius of Metz († c. 850) says nothing of it;[5] but Florus of Lyons (IXth cent.) knows it.[6] It is clearly a new addition made by some priests and not by others. Meanwhile the creed was not said at Mass at Rome. It is not in the Gregorian Sacramentary; it is now in the Second Ordo,[7] but is an interpolation there. Micrologus follows this Ordo exactly and knows no creed: finito evangelio statim est offeren-

[1] Can. 2 (Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des conciles*, iii, 225).
[2] In the East its use had begun rather earlier; see p. 289.
[3] *de eccl. rerum ex. et incr.* 22 (P.L. cxiv, 947).
[4] So Rietschel (*Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i, 373) understands Leo III's letter (in Mansi xiv, 19), I think rightly. Probst (*die abendl. Messe*, p. 129) thinks that Leo means to say that there was a creed in the Roman Mass, but said, not sung.
[5] *de offic. eccl.* iii, 18 (P.L. cv, 1124, 1323). But see p. 289, n. 5.
[6] *de expos. missæ*, 11 (P.L. clx, 25).
[7] § 9 (P.L. lxxviii, 972). No Creed in Ordo III (*ib.* 980).

dum.[1] We happen to have an exact notice of the introduction of the creed in the Roman Mass. Berno of Reichenau tells what he himself saw and heard in 1014. He was then in Rome with the Emperor Henry II (1002-1024). St. Henry noticed that there was no creed in the Mass at his coronation (14 Feb. 1014), whereas he was used to it in Germany. He was told that the Roman Church had never been stained by heresy and that therefore the recitation of the creed was unnecessary. However eventually the Pope (Benedict VIII, 1012-1024), yielding to the Emperor's wish, ordered the creed to be sung after the Gospel in Rome too.[2] Most authors agree in accepting this story and in admitting the creed at Rome as dating from 1014.[3] There are however others who think it was said there much earlier and explain Berno's story in various ways, such as that before 1014 it was only said by bishops, or that it had dropped out since Leo III.[4]

In any case since the XIth century the Roman Mass has had the so-called Nicene creed with the *filioque*. It is mentioned in the Vth[5] and VIth[6] Ordines and by all later writers. But the fact that it is sung only on Sundays and feasts, not at every Mass, is still a sign that it is not an essential element.

The Ordines say that the acolytes' candles which burned during the Gospel should be put out before the

[1] 10 (P.L. cli, 983).

[2] *de quibusdam rebus*, ii (P.L. cxlii, 1060-1061).

[3] Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii, 8, § 2; Gihr: *Das h. Messopfer*, 449, etc.

[4] Probst (*loc. cit.*); Mabillon: *Musæum italicum* ii, p. xliii; Thalhofer: *Handb. der Kath. Liturgik*, ii, 128, etc. Probst thinks the creed was introduced by Damasus. The case is well stated by Cajetan Merati in his notes on Gavanti: *Thesaurus s. rituum* (Venice, 1762) i, 64 (Pars i, tit. xi). Martène (*de ant. Eccl. ritibus* i, 383) thinks that Berno means it was said, not sung, before 1014. There is a real difficulty about Ordo Rom. II, for which see Merati-Gavanti, *loc. cit.*

[5] P.L. lxxviii, 987. [6] *Ib.* 992.

creed.[1] The rite is the same as now; the Pontiff intones: "Credo in unum Deum" and the schola continues. In the middle ages it was commonly sung, not by the choir, but by all the people; wherefore there was only one chant for it[2] known to everyone. This chant (in the fourth tone) is noted in the Vatican Gradual as the authentic one. The excellent custom that all the people should sing the creed has lasted in parts of France and Germany and is now being revived.[3] Another mediæval practice was that while the choir sang the creed the people sang "Kyrie eleison".[4]

In the Gallican rite the creed was sung after the Gospel, as at Rome.[5] In the Mozarabic rite the old Spanish rule is still kept (see p. 287): it is said just before the Pater Noster. After the fraction the celebrant sings: "fide quam corde credimus ore autem dicamus" and lifts up the Blessed Sacrament. The choir then sings the creed, beginning: "Credimus in unum Deum". The text is not quite ours.[6] At Milan they follow the Byzantine custom and sing the creed after the Offertory.

In the West the creed is an addition borrowed from Constantinople. Its use in the liturgies of Antioch and Constantinople can be explained more easily than in the West. Namely it occurs there in connection with the kiss of peace at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Faithful. The kiss of peace comes (as once at Rome, see p. 370) just before the Prayers of the Faithful. The deacon cries: "Let us love one another that we may confess in

[1] E. gr. Ordo Rom. II (*ib.* 972), V (*ib.* 987).
[2] So in the Sarum missal (ed. Burntisland. 590-592).
[3] See Thalhofer, *op. cit.* ii. 129.
[4] Sicardus of Cremona: *Mitrale*, iii, 4 (P.L. ccxiii, 113).
[5] *Ecl. de offic. Missæ* (attributed to Amalarius of Metz), P.L. cv. 1323. But in any case this is a later interpolation.
[6] *Missale mixtum* (P.L. lxxxv. 556-557).

union". And the choir continues: Father, Son and Holy Ghost, consubstantial and undivided Trinity."[1] This is itself a later amplification; the older form was merely: "Let us love one another".[2] It is already a confession of faith and so would naturally suggest a further amplification by the creed. At any rate in all Eastern rites the creed is said in connection with the kiss of peace. It is said that Peter the Dyer of Antioch (470-488) introduced the creed into the liturgy in his city.[3] The same authority says that Timothy I of Constantinople (511-518) introduced it in his Patriarchate at every liturgy.[4]

But in spite of its connection with the formula of the kiss of peace, the place of the creed in the Byzantine liturgy has not always been the same. John of Biclarum says that Justin II (565-578) ordered it to be said before the Lord's Prayer,[5] just at the place where it was put by the Council of Toledo (589), which avowedly follows Byzantine use. At any rate nearly all Eastern rites now have the creed at the kiss of peace. In St. James' Greek liturgy it comes just before,[6] so also in the Jacobite rite,[7] in St. Mark just after,[8] in the Coptic[9] and Abyssinian[10] rites before. Only in the Nestorian[11] rite, which has the kiss of peace after the diptychs, and among the Armenians,[12] who (as often) follow Rome and put the creed after the Gospel, is it separated from the kiss. In all these cases the creed is a later addition, apparently an example of far-reaching Antiochene and Byzantine influence, even in the West.

We have already mentioned the difficulty about the

[1] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 382. [2] *Ib.* 320.
[3] Theodorus Lector: Eccl. Hist. ii. 48 (P.G. lxxxvi, 209).
[4] *Ib.* 201. [5] *Chronicle* (P.L. lxxii, 863 B). [6] Brightman, 42.
[7] *Ib.* 82. [8] *Ib.* 124. [9] *Ib.* 162. [10] *Ib.* 226.
[11] *Ib.* 270. The Nestorian and Armenian creeds have many variants.
[12] *Ib.* 426.

dismissal of the catechumens at Rome. It seems that here almost alone in Christendom they were dismissed before the Gospel.[1] In any case there was a formal dismissal, at least to the time of St. Gregory I. He tells the story of two excommunicate nuns who were buried in a church. "When in this church Mass was celebrated and as usual the deacon cried: If any one does not communicate, let him go away,[2] their nurse, who was accustomed to make an offering to the Lord for them, saw them come out of their tombs and leave the church."[3] At a later time, when the expulsion had disappeared from Mass it continued at the baptism service on Holy Saturday. From this we may conclude that the old formula was: "Catechumeni recedant. Si quis catechumenus est recedat. Omnes catechumeni exeant foras."[4] This ceremony must have ceased soon after the time of St. Gregory. There is no trace of it (at Mass) in the Gregorian Sacramentary or in any of the Ordines. Probst thinks it had disappeared just before St. Gregory's reign.[5] But the words "as usual" in Gregory's story seem to show that he still knew it. When the whole discipline of the catechumenate had ceased, the expulsion, now meaningless, was left out. The Gallican rite in St. Germanus (VIth cent.) still kept the formula; though it was then only a memory that no longer meant anything.[6] As in the East, prayers were said for each class (catechumens, penitents) before they were told to go away. St. Isidore of Seville knew the expul-

[1] P. 280. [2] Si quis non communicat, det locum.
[3] Dialog. ii, 23 (P.L. lxvi, 178).
[4] So Ordo Rom. I, 38 (P.L. lxxviii, 955).
[5] *Die abendl. Messe*, p. 115. He says this because he wants to save the Gregorian Sacramentary as being really by St. Gregory.
[6] Germanus of Paris: Ep. i, *de catticumeno* (P.L. lxxii, 92); Duchesne: *Origines*, 192-193.

sion.[1] It has now quite disappeared from the Mozarabic and Ambrosian Masses.[2]

On the other hand the Byzantine rite (alone) still keeps the old prayers for and expulsion of the catechumens; though here too it has no practical meaning. It is curious that the Roman Mass, which has kept so many relics of former customs, should have entirely lost this one.

Here in all other rites ends the Mass of the Catechumens.

[1] *Etymologiæ*, vi, 19, § 4 (P.L. lxxxii, 252).

[2] The Mozarabic rite still has a formula of dismissal of penitents in Lent. *Missale mixtum*, fer. iv in 1 hebd. quadr. (P.L. lxxxv, 307).

[3] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 374-375. In the earliest liturgy four classes of people were prayed for and expelled in turn, catechumens, energumens, illuminandi (φωτιζόμενοι, people about to be baptized) and penitents. Apost. Const. VIII, vi-ix (*ib.* 3-9).

CHAPTER VII.

THE MASS OF THE FAITHFUL TO THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER.

§ 1. The Prayers of the Faithful.

IN the liturgy of the first three centuries, as soon as the catechumens, penitents, etc., had been dismissed, the "faithful" (πιστοί, fideles, the normal baptized Christians, who could receive Holy Communion), remaining alone, began their part of the service by saying prayers together. Hitherto they have joined the others, prayed with them and for them. Now they offer their own holier prayers for all men, for the Church and her ministers, for the state, the poor, their enemies, travellers, prisoners, for those who bring gifts, in short for all classes of people. These are the *Prayers of the Faithful*, an important element of the old liturgy.

At any rate in the Antiochene family of rites the Prayers of the Faithful take the usual form of a litany, a *Synapte*, chanted by the deacon, to each clause of which they answer: Kyrie eleison; then a concluding prayer by the celebrant.[1] All the Eastern rites have kept this element.[2] The Gallican and African rites

[1] So Apost. Const. VIII, x-xi (Brightman: *op. cit.* 9-13). Justin Martyr mentions these prayers, 1 Apol. lxv, 2; lxvii, 5 (see above pp. 18, 20.)

[2] Brightman: *op. cit.* Antioch, pp. 38-41, 80-81; Alexandria, 119-122, 158-161; Abyssinian, 223-225; Nestorian, 262-266; Byzantine, 375-377; Armenian, 428-429.

had it.[1] The original place of the kiss of peace was in connection with these prayers. It was the greeting of the faithful to one another, by which they began their liturgy (see p. 370). The Prayers of the Faithful anticipate the ideas of the Intercession in the Eucharistic prayer, so that these two, where both exist, form a kind of reduplication.[2] Abbot Cabrol, Dom Cagin and their school indeed call the Gallican prayers at this place the Intercession and believe that at Rome too this was the place where the diptychs were read (above p. 144).

Certainly originally at Rome, after the catechumens were dismissed, the Prayers of the Faithful followed. Pope Felix III (483-493) knew these prayers;[3] there are other evidences of their use. St. Augustine mentions them in Africa,[4] a Council of Lyons in 517 mentions the "oratio plebis quæ post evangelia legeretur".[5] About the time of St. Gregory I[6] they disappeared. They seem to have shared the fate of the prayers for catechumens when the discipline of the catechumenate came to an end. Why were they lost? Probst[7] and Drews[8] suggest that they were thought superfluous, as repeating the Intercession in the Canon, and were omitted to shorten the service. But although we have no later Roman "prayers of the

[1] Duchesne: *Origines*, 199-201. St. Augustine: Ep. 217 ad Vit. § 29 (P.L. xxxiii, 989); Ep. 55 ad Ian. 18, 34 (l.c. 221).

[2] See pp. 68-70.

[3] Namely in a Roman Synod (487 or 488) he decreed that people coming from Africa, who had assented to the African practice and had been rebaptized after baptism by a heretic, should be allowed to stay at Mass only till the "prayer of the people". A. Thiel: *Epistolæ Rom. Pont. genuinæ* (Braunsberg, 1868), i, 263; Langen: *Gesch. der röm. Kirche* (Bonn, 1885), p. 151; Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, ii, 2, p. 935, do not notice the point.

[4] Ep. 55, Cap. 18, § 34 (P.L. xxxiii, 221).

[5] Hardouin: *Coll. Concil*, ii, 1054; cfr. Probst: *Lit. der 3 ersten Jhrdte*, 366-371.

[6] Probst: *Lit. des iv Jahrh.* 462. [7] *Ib.* 463.

[8] *Untersuchungen über die sog. clem. Lit.* 128.

faithful" there is abundant evidence of their use at this point North of the Alps. Ivo of Chartres mentions them in France in the XIth century.[1] They became the *prône*, commands to pray for all classes of people, living and dead, which are still given out before the sermon. Regino, Abbot of Prüm in Rhineland gives a form to be used after the sermon on Sundays and Holidays.[2] In England the prayers of the faithful survived in the *Bidding Prayer* (bidding the beads) which was said about the time of the Offertory down to the Reformation. The *bede-roll* contained the names of people for whom to pray. The Salisbury rule was that the bidding-prayer be given out in cathedrals and collegiate churches at the Asperges procession by the celebrant, standing before the rood-screen, but in parish churches after the Gospel from the altar or pulpit.[3] Dr. Rock gives an account of the old English bidding-prayers with examples.[4] Mgr. Duchesne thinks that the series of collects we have on Good Friday represents the old Roman "prayers of the faithful".[5] If so these collects are a most valuable relic of what was once a part of every Mass. Mr. E. Bishop disputes this. He thinks that the Good Friday prayers are made not by the faithful, but by the celebrant for them.[6] It is not a very convincing argument. In the Good Friday collects the people are told what to pray for[7] and then kneel and pray themselves. The concluding

[1] He died in 1092. *Decretale* ii, 120 (P.L. clxi, 193).

[2] *de Eccl. disc.* i, 190 (P.L. cxxxii, 224-225).

[3] Rock: *The Church of our Fathers*, i, chap. 7 (*ed. cit.* vol. ii, p. 292).

[4] *Ib.* pp. 286-306. The earliest English Bidding prayer, which dates from before the Norman Conquest, has been printed by Canon Simmons in the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* (London, 1879: Early Engl. Text Soc.), p. 62.

[5] *Origines*, 164-165.

[6] *Kyrie eleison* (Downside Review, xviii, 1899, pp. 294-303).

[7] This may have once been said by the deacon; see Atchley: *Ordo Rom. I*, p. 66.

collects by the celebrant are quite in accordance with the summing-up prayers, said by him in all rites. There is no positive evidence either way. All we have now of this feature of the liturgy is the curious fragment before the Offertory. After the Gospel (or Creed) the celebrant says: Dominus vobiscum, and Oremus.[1] That is all. No prayer follows and he proceeds at once to the offertory act. This beginning without a continuation remains as a relic, and an indication of the place of the old prayers of the faithful.

§ 2. The Offertory Act.[2]

Now, the faithful having said there common prayers, nothing is left but to go on to the essential root of the whole service, the repetition of what our Lord did at the Last Supper. But there is first one detail to observe. Our Lord took bread and wine. So bread and wine must be brought to the altar. St. Justin says quite simply: "Then bread and a cup of water and wine are brought to the president of the brethren".[3] But very soon the idea developed that as they are brought they should be offered to God at once, before they are consecrated. This is only one case of the universal practice of dedicating to God anything that is to be used for his service. We dedicate churches; bless the water for baptism and offer to God the bread and wine to be consecrated.

But here occurs a cardinal difference between the Roman rite and all others. In all Eastern rites and in

[1] So Ordo Rom. II, 9 (P.L. lxxviii, 972): this is not mentioned in Ordo Rom. I. Ordo Rom. II, 9 (*ib.* 973) contains a second relic of the prayers of the faithful. After the incensing of the gifts, the Offertory-chant being ended, the Pontiff again turns to the people and says: "Orate".

[2] See Dr. J. Wickham Legg: *A Comp. Study of the time . . . at which the Elements are prepared*, in his *Ecclesiological Essays* (Moring, 1905), 91-178.

[3] 1 Apol. lxv, 3; cfr. lxvii, 5.

the Gallican rite in its Paris form[1] a later practice grew up of preparing (and offering) the gifts before the liturgy begins. Rome alone kept the primitive custom (as in St. Justin) of preparing them at this point, when they are about to be consecrated. The other practice is certainly later. It is difficult to say when it began. The Apostolic Constitutions do not know it. In that liturgy the gifts are brought to the altar in the simplest way when they are wanted; there is nothing that can really be called an offertory at all.[2] Nor does any writer before the IVth century mention the preparation of the gifts before the catechumens' liturgy. In all, the offertory-prayer, if mentioned at all, occurs before the Anaphora.[3] The preparation service must have begun about the Vth century.[4] At first perhaps it was made to save time. The cutting up and arranging of the bread,[5] the pouring out of the wine and so on takes some time. The liturgy would be shorter if all this were done before it began.[6] Moreover the people had ceased to bring the bread and wine and to hand them to the celebrant, so at the beginning of the Anaphora there was no public function which could not be moved. The preparatory arrangement of the offerings then developed, especially in the Byzantine rite, into a very elaborate ceremony. In Greek they call it the *προσκομιδή*. Its gradual elaboration is a typical example of the way a rite grows.[7] The other Eastern

[1] See p. 103.

[2] *Apost. Const.* VIII, xi-xii (Brightman: *op. cit.* 13-14).

[3] Various texts will be found in Probst: *Liturgie der 3 ersten Jahrh.*

[4] The Nestorian and Monophysite Churches have it. See Mr. E. Bishop's "Supplementary Note" in *Hom. of Narsai*, pp. 114-117.

[5] The Nestorian rite begins with making the bread and baking it.

[6] To shorten the service was the constant preoccupation of Fathers in the IVth century. So St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom (above, pp. 87, 88).

[7] The steps of this elaboration from the IXth to the XVIth century may be seen in Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, App. Q., pp. 539-549. See also the article in *Échos d'Orient*, iii, pp. 65-78.

rites all have this preparation, though in less elaborate forms;[1] the rite of Paris had it too.[2] There are two results of it in the liturgy. First, in the East there is no Introit. There is no procession of Entrance, because the celebrant and his ministers are already in church when the liturgy begins (p. 224). Secondly there is before the Anaphora not an offertory but a procession. The preparation was made at the side, at the Prothesis (Credence table); the real offertory prayers were said then. When the bread and wine are wanted at the altar (just before the Anaphora) they are brought to it from the prothesis. This became a solemn procession, the so-called *Great Entrance* (ἡ μεγάλη εἴσοδος), ceremonially the most impressive feature of the whole service. The gifts are already offered and are treated with great respect. Indeed by a curious anticipation of the consecration expressions are used which imply that the procession brings the body and blood of Christ.[3] When the gifts are placed on the altar most Eastern rites have another prayer repeating the idea of the offertory. But this has already been made. The true Eastern offertory is at the Proskomide. This practice (including the procession of the gifts) was borrowed by some Western Churches. Rome alone knew nothing of all this, but kept the primitive custom. After the prayers of the faithful they brought up bread

[1] Brightman: *op. cit.* Antioch, 32-33; 70-74; Alexandria, 113-115; 144-146; Abyssinian, 197-201; Nestorian, 247-252; Armenian, 418-421.

[2] Duchesne: *Origines*, 194-195. The Dominicans keep this practice and prepare the offerings before Mass begins.

[3] The Byzantine Cherubic hymn, sung at the Great Entrance, calls the gifts "the king of all things". The corresponding Antiochene Σιγησάτω hymn says: "The king of kings, Christ our God comes". Exactly the same words are sung at the liturgy of the Presanctified when the gifts are already consecrated—a typical instance of vagueness as to the exact moment of consecration, as in many early documents. The Armenians sing so-called Hagiologies (srbasathsuthiunkh) at the Great Entrance. Their anticipated adoration is even more marked.

and wine. The celebrant received the gifts and offered them to God then. All early Roman documents describe this. The first Ordo has a long account. The Pope receives the loaves of the notables, the archdeacon takes the wine and pours it into a chalice. Three kinds of chalice were used at a Papal High Mass. They are distinguished by Ordo Rom. III, 4, 12, 16.[1] The wine at the offertory was poured into vessels called *amulæ* (so Ordo Rom. III) or into a very large chalice. From this a sufficient quantity was poured into the *calix sanctus* for consecration; then for Communion into a larger chalice (*calix ministerialis* or *communicalis*, also called *calix maior*). The word *scyphus* occurs for this, but also for the still larger offertory chalice. The use and names of these various vessels were not always constant. Their distinction came to an end as lay Communion under one kind was introduced.[2] The Pope then receives loaves from the people, men and women. He himself also offers bread and wine. The deacons arrange all the gifts at the South end of the altar and cover them with a veil. Meanwhile the choir sings a psalm.[3] The other Ordines describe the same rite. The amount of bread and wine to be consecrated was taken from the large quantity offered.[4] The rest was kept for the poor. There are many stories of and allusions to the offering by the people. Once when St. Gregory was saying Mass and was

[1] P.L. lxxviii, 978, 980, 982.

[2] Bona: *Rerum liturg.* i., cap. xxv; Mabillon: *In ord. rom. comm.* vi, 4 (P.L. lxxviii, 874-875); H. Leclercq: *Calice*, in the *Dict. d'archéologie chrét.* ii, 2, 1595-1645 and J. Baudot: *Calice ministériel* (*ib.* 1646-1651); F. X. Kraus: *Gesch. der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg, 1896) i, 514-518: S. Beissel: *Altchristliche Kunst in Italien* (Freiburg, 1899); 316-320; Atchley: *Ordo rom. primus*, 24-26.

[3] Ordo Rom. I, 12-14 (P.L. lxxviii, 943-944).

[4] Some of the older secrets still keep the picture of a large heap of loaves at the offertory; e. gr. for St. John Baptist (24 June): "Tua, Domine, muneribus altaria cumulamus" (in the Leonine Sacramentary, ed. Feltoe, p. 29).

about to give Communion to a woman she laughed, because she recognized the bread she had herself offered.[1] After the Xth century the offering of the gifts by the people gradually disappeared. Honorius of Autun (XIIth cent.) says that people give money instead of bread and wine;[2] so also St. Peter Damian (†1072).[3] But there was long the idea that the people ought to give something. So a Roman Synod under St. Gregory VII (1073-1085) insists on this.[4] Our collection of money at the offertory still represents the old offering of bread and wine by the people. No doubt the offering of the actual gifts became difficult and cumbersome. The Mozarabic Mass has the Eastern plan, an offertory at the beginning before the *Officium* (Introit).[5] Milan, on the other hand, has the same practice as Rome and makes the offertory after the Gospel. It is curious that Milan alone has kept the offering by the people (the famous *vecchioni* in the Cathedral) at this point.

§ 3. Azyme bread.

For many centuries the Roman Church has used Azyme (unleavened bread) at Mass. This was the chief accusation against her made by the schismatical Byzantines at the time of Michael Cerularius (1043-1058)[6] and often since. Except the Armenians and Maronites, all Eastern Christians use leavened bread, as in ordinary life. Although the Roman custom has the best authority possible, since (supposing that the last supper was the Passover supper) our Lord certainly used azyme,

[1] *Vita S. Greg.* Pauli diac. 23 (P.L. lxxv, 52).
[2] *Gemma animæ* i, 66 (P.L. clxxii, 564).
[3] Epist. v, 13 (P.L. cxliv, 358-367).
[4] Bona: *Rerum Liturg.* ii, 8, § 7. [5] P.L. lxxviii, 527-529.
[6] Fortescue: *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (London, C.T.S. 1907) 178-179, etc.

it does not seem that it comes from the first age. Rather it appears that at Rome too leavened bread was used originally. Azyme was a later thought, to reproduce more exactly what our Lord did.[1]

Because of the accusations of Eastern controversialists the origin of our use of Azyme has been much discussed. The Jesuit Sirmond (†1651)[2] maintained that the Roman Church used only leavened bread till the middle of the IXth century. Mabillon[3] on the contrary defended the exclusive use of azyme from the time of the apostles. A number of writers have ranged themselves on either side. Cardinal Bona[4] proposed a compromise, explaining that both kinds of bread were used in the early Church. But this practically coincides with Sirmond's view. Unless there was a principle of using azyme, certainly ordinary bread would have been taken. There seems no doubt that it was so. In the first place there are no texts at all really in favour of azyme.[5] All the earlier writers, in West and East, speak of the bread as the ordinary kind, which, then as now, was leavened. The treatise *de Sacramentis* describes the man who offers bread for the Eucharist as saying: "meus panis est usitatus,"[6] that is, ordinary bread. In 693 a Synod at Toledo describes exactly what kind of bread is to be used at Mass; there is no word about its being unleavened.[7] The point that seems to settle the matter is the offer-

[1] The West has always accepted the view that the Last Supper was the Paschal supper.

[2] *Disquisitio de azymo* (Paris, 1700).

[3] *Dissertatio de pane eucharistico azymo et fermentato* (Paris, 1674).

[4] *Rerum liturg.* i, 23.

[5] Those that have sometimes been quoted are shown to have no value by Cabrol: *Azymes*, in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrét.* i, 3254-3260.

[6] *de Sacr.* iv, 4.

[7] Conc. Tolet. xvi, Can. 6 (Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, iii, 585).

tory by the faithful! If they offered unleavened bread it would have to be specially made. This would certainly have been noticed. But there is no hint of anything but good ordinary bread being offered, of the same kind as they ate at home. Indeed this is actually said, or implied, in some texts such as *de Sacr.* and the story about St. Gregory and the woman who laughed (p. 300). From about the VIIIth century or so azyme bread gradually became the rule in the West, perhaps at first North of the Alps; then, as one more Gallican infiltration, at Rome. St. Bede († 735) is the first certain witness for it, in various passages.[1] Hrabanus Maurus († 856) speaks of azyme bread at Mass[2] and after that references to it are more and more common. By the XIth century its use in the West was universal and the leavened bread was forgotten. The Latins in the controversy with Cerularius speak of azyme in the West as an apostolic tradition.[3] The reason of its adoption was undoubtedly the conviction that our Lord celebrated the Paschal Supper the day before he died and the wish to conform exactly to his example, than which there can be no better motive for any usage. But the authority of the Catholic Church has always taken the reasonable line in this question, admitting fully that either kind of bread is valid and *per se* lawful. It is merely a question of discipline, like the language of a liturgy. Rome allows, or rather insists that the Uniates should use the bread demanded by their rite.[4] At the time when the Byzantines were pouring blasphemous abuse on our

[1] Hom. in Luc. xxii (P.L. xcii, 593, 595, 597).

[2] *Inst. cleric.* i, 31 (P.L. cvii, 318-319).

[3] E. gr. Leo IX, Ep. ad Michaelem Const. 20-21 (Will: *Acta et Scripta . . . de controversiis eccl. græcæ et latinæ* Leipzig, 1861, pp. 76-77), Card. Humbert: *Dialogus* 33 (*ib.* 109) etc.

[4] Leavened bread, except in the case of the Armenians and Maronites.

custom and called our Eucharist "dry mud,"[1] no one of the Latins makes a reproach of their practice. The Catholic attitude is represented exactly by Dominic of Gradus and Aquileia, writing to Peter III of Antioch: "Because we know that the sacred mixture of fermented bread is accepted and lawfully used by the most holy and orthodox Fathers of the Eastern Churches we understand both customs faithfully and we confirm both with a spiritual explanation."[2] As for the Byzantine objections to azyme, that it is not bread, or that we are Apollinarists for using it[3] they are not worth refuting.[4]

§ 4. The Offertory Chant.

While the offertory is being made the choir sing. This is (like the Introit and Communion) merely to fill up the time while some silent action proceeds. The chant is of considerable antiquity. The Apostolic Constitutions say that the celebrant and his ministers pray silently at the offertory;[5] so we may deduce that already then something was being sung. As usual, originally it was a psalm. In St. Augustine's time it was a novelty at Carthage and was attacked by a certain Hilarius, against whom he defended its use.[6] By the time of the first Roman Ordo the psalm was already reduced to an antiphon with one or two verses.[7] So also Ordo II: "Tunc canitur offertorium

[1] This is Cerularius' favourite amenity (Will: *op. cit.* 105).
[2] Will, p. 207.
[3] This is very curious and typically Byzantine. The leaven symbolizes Christ's soul; we do not use it, therefore we deny his soul.
[4] Besides the Armenians and Maronites (with whom azyme is a Roman infiltration) there are isolated cases of other Easterns using azyme. The whole question is discussed in Neale: *History of the Holy Eastern Church* (London, 1850) 1051-1076.
[5] Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 4, (Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 14).
[6] *Retract.* ii, 11 (P.L. xxxii, 63).
[7] *Ordo Rom. I*, 26 (P.L. lxxviii, 950).

cum versibus ".[1] In the Gregorian antiphonary it is still so formed.[2] From about the XIth or XIIth centuries the shortening of the offertory act led to a further shortening of the chant, so that only the antiphon was sung. Durandus notices this as happening often in his time and disapproves of it.[3] However it has now become the rule; we only sing an antiphon at the offertory, except at Requiems, where it is still followed by a verse, the second part of the antiphon being repeated.[4] In the middle ages verses were still often sung at the offertory.[5] Our present chant follows the usual rule of antiphons; it is generally from the psalter, often from another biblical text, sometimes an ecclesiastical composition.

The Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites have one or two verses in their offertory chants (called *Sacrificium* in Spain). The Eastern rites have, as we have seen, a quite different arrangement here.

§ 5. Offertory Prayers.

All our offertory prayers are mediæval. In the old Roman rite the only ones were the Secrets. Micrologus (XI cent.) says expressly: "The Roman order has no prayer after the offering before the Secret."[6] He knows our prayers "Veni sanctificator" and "Suscipe sancta Trinitas"; but says they are Gallican and that they are said "not from any order but from ecclesiastical custom".[7] These prayers then are a late Gallican (Northern) addition to the Mass. They do not appear at Rome till the XIVth

[1] *Ordo Rom.* II, 26 (P.L. lxxxviii, 972).
[2] E. gr. for Advent Sunday (*ib.* 641) etc.
[3] *Rationale* iv, 26, § 4.
[4] Though the text in this case is not biblical.
[5] So in the Sarum missal (Advent Sunday, *ed. cit.* 16, etc.).
[6] 11. (P.L. cli, 984). [7] *Ib.*

century.[1] It seems that they were added to fill up the void left by the disappearance of the old offering by the faithful. Like all such late additions they had different forms in the middle ages.[2] A common mediæval form was to offer the bread and wine together with one prayer. This still survives at Lyons and elsewhere. The Offertory prayers adopted by the revisors of 1570 are those in the XIVth Roman Ordo. All are taken or adapted from various, mostly non-Roman sources.

The offering of the bread: "Suscipe sancte Pater" occurs first (with slight variations) in the prayerbook of Charles the Bald (875-877).[3] The expression "hanc immaculatam hostiam" should be noticed. It is an anticipation of the consecration, a dramatic misplacement, of which all liturgies have examples.[4] The next prayer is the blessing of the water for the chalice. All rites, except that of the Armenians, mix water with the wine to be consecrated. The mixed chalice is a custom which certainly goes back to the very beginning. Justin Martyr mentions it twice (above pp. 18, 20), so also Irenæus,[5] the epitaph of Abercius[6] and many others. St. Cyprian especially insists continually on water with the wine; he even

[1] Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1163-1164).

[2] E. gr. the Sarum prayers (much shorter than ours) in the missal, 593. Durandus leaves much liberty to the celebrant's private devotion here: *Rationale* iv, 26-30. Various examples of offertory prayers will be found in Bona; *Rerum lit.* ii, 9, § 2.

[3] *Liber precationum quas Carolus Calvus Imp. . . . colligi . . . mandavit*, ed. F. Felician (Ingolstadt, 1583) p. 112: "Oratio quando offertis".

[4] The Byzantine Cherubic hymn (p. 298, n. 3) and so on. Walafrid Strabo explains our text thus: *de eccl. rer. exord.* (P.L. cxiv, 948). See also Bona: *Rer. lit.* ii, 9, § 3.

[5] *Adv. hær.* v, 1 (P.G. vii, 1123); v, 2 (*ib.* 1125).

[6] C. 180, often reprinted, e. gr. in Cabrol: *Dict. d'archéologie chrét.* i, 70; see Duchesne: *Saint Abercius* in the *Rev. des questions hist.* vol. xxxiv (Paris, 1883) pp. 5-33. The last line is: "having choice wine, giving the *mixture* (κέρασμα, sc. with water) and bread".

seems to deny the validity of pure wine.[1] The practice is so universal and defended by so many Fathers that it is astonishing that the Armenians use wine only. To use only water was the practice of certain heretical sects.[2] It may be, as Card. Bona thinks,[3] that the Armenian use is an exaggerated opposition to this. The Armenian pure wine was condemned by the Quinisextum Council (Trullanum II, 692).[4] Uniate Armenians use the mixed chalice. In all Eastern rites the mixture is made at the Proskomide at the beginning.[5]

The reason of the mixed chalice is simply that all ancient people mixed water with the wine they drank. The Jews did so too and the mixture is specially noted at the Passover supper, so there is no doubt that our Lord used a mixed chalice.[6] Later the mixture was understood as a symbol of his two natures, or of our union with him.[7]

The Roman blessing of the water: "Deus qui humanæ substantiæ," is adapted from a collect in the Leonine Sacramentary for Christmas,[8] which recurs again in the Gelasian [9] and Gregorian [10] books. The offering of the chalice: "Offerimus tibi Domine calicem salutaris" is Mozarabic.[11] The plural form offerimus) implies that the deacon also offers the chalice. This is a relic of the special duty of the deacon with regard to the consecrated wine. It was

[1] Ep. lxiii, 13 (P.L. iv, 384), etc.

[2] The Ebionites (in Irenæus: *Adv hær.* v, 1), the *Aquarii* mentioned by Augustine (*de hær.* 64, P.L. xlii, 42).

[3] *Rer. lit.* ii, 9, § 3. [4] Can. 32 (Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* iii, 567).

[5] So with the Dominicans, etc. In the Byzantine rite they pour in a little hot water again just before the Communion.

[6] Origen alone seems to deny this, for symbolic reasons. Hom. in Ierem. xii, 2 (P.G. xiii, 380-381).

[7] So St. Cyprian: *loc. cit.* [8] Ed. Feltoe, 159.

[9] Ed. Wilson, 5. [10] P.L. lxxviii, 32.

[11] *Missale mixtum*, P.L. lxxxv, 536.

the deacon who gave communion under this form, to whom the bishop "gave charge of the blood of the Lord," as St. Lawrence reminds the Pope (see p. 374). So at High Mass the deacon holds the chalice with the celebrant and they say this prayer together. Two short offertory prayers follow. "In spiritu humilitatis" is based on Dan. iii, 39-40. Less old and less common than the next prayer, it is found in many mediæval missals.[1] "Veni sanctificator" is modified from the Mozarabic form.[2] It is addressed to the Holy Ghost. The Mozarabic form is: "Veni Sancte Spiritus sanctificator"; a common mediæval form is: "Veni sanctificator omnium Sancte Spiritus,"[3] etc.

This prayer is then an invocation of the Holy Ghost. Can we accept it as *the* Invocation and find here the prayer that corresponds to the Eastern Epiklesis? Gihr thinks so and settles the whole of this famous question with astonishing lightness. Whereas in the East, he says, the Epiklesis follows the act of Consecration, at Rome it precedes it here at the offertory; and he calls this prayer "the Epiklesis of the Oblation".[4] Unfortunately so simple a solution is quite impossible. If Rome has an Epiklesis at all it will be in the Canon; indeed if we are really to find a parallel to the Eastern Epiklesis it should come properly after the words of Institution.[5] This offertory prayer is no part of the old Roman Mass, but is a late interpolation, made to fill a gap long after the Roman Epiklesis had disappeared. But the little "Veni sanctificator" prayer is of some use for the question of the Epiklesis. Namely it is one example of the many invocations of the Holy Ghost scattered through-

[1] *Missale Sarum* (ed. cit. 595) etc.; Bona: *loc. cit.* It is also in the Mozarabic Mass at this point (P.L. lxxxv, 113).
[2] *Ib.* [3] Gihr: *Das h. Messopfer*, 493.
[4] *Ib.* p. 492. [5] See pp. 346, 403.

out all liturgies, of which invocations the classical Epiklesis is only one among others. And that fact is important.[1]

§ 6. The Incensing and Washing of Hands.

After these prayers, as part of the Offertory act, the celebrant incenses the gifts and the altar. This too is a late addition. The old Roman rite used incense at two moments only, at the entrance and at the gospel. The first Roman Ordo knows nothing of incense at the offertory. Micrologus (XIth cent.) says expressly: "The Roman order commands that incense should always go before the gospel-book when it is carried to the altar or ambo; but it does not allow that the oblation on the altar be incensed . . . although this is now done by many, indeed by nearly all".[2] It was again a Gallican practice that gradually found its way into the Roman rite.[3] The Gallicanized second Roman Ordo says: "after the offering incense is placed on the altar."[4] The incensing of the oblata easily led to a second incensing of the altar afterwards. This forms a second act of reverence that comes suitably at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful, as the first incensing at the beginning of the Mass of the Catechumens. An obvious further step was to end by incensing the celebrant, ministers and people. The use of incense at this point then became the most

[1] See pp. 403-404; also Martène: *de antiq. eccl. rit.* iii, 247, 282.

[2] Micrologus, 9 (P.L. cli, 983).

[3] In the Mass of Paris the incense was carried at the Great Entrance and the gifts were incensed as soon as they were placed on the altar, as in the Byzantine liturgy. This explains the whole ceremony. The incense was used, as always, in the procession; the gifts on the altar were then incensed before the thurible was taken away, as a natural afterthought, just as we incense the gospel-book after the gospel procession.

[4] Ordo Rom. II, 9 (P.L. lxxviii, 972).

ornate in the whole rite. All our present ceremony, including the prayers, is in the XIVth Roman Ordo (XIVth cent.);[1] except that after the celebrant has been incensed the deacon again incenses the altar, then the assisting clergy.[2] St. Thomas Aquinas explains why the people are incensed: *Summa Theol.* iii, q. lxxxiii, art. 5 ad 2.

The blessing of the incense has a curious allusion to St. Michael "Stans a dextris altaris incensi". It seems obviously to refer to Luke i, 11-19, where the angel is St. Gabriel. A great many mediæval missals have Gabriel here; it is at least probable that the name has been changed by mistake.[3] This blessing, the prayer "Incensum istud," the Psalm verses "Dirigatur" (Ps. cxl, 2-4) and the ejaculation "Accendat in nobis," etc., are natural accompaniments of the action, all late mediæval.[4] The derived rites had often other but similar formulas.[5]

In all rites the celebrant washes his hands before handling the offerings—an obvious precaution and sign of respect. As St. Thomas says: "We are not accustomed to handle any precious things save with clean hands; so it seems indecent that one should approach so great a sacrament with hands soiled".[6] Naturally then the washing was also understood as a symbol of cleansing the soul, as is all ritual washing. This ceremony takes place at different moments in various liturgies. In the Apostolic Constitutions[7] it

[1] Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1164).

[2] Notes on the details of the incensing will be found in Gavanto: *Thesaurus Sacr. rituum*, with additional notes by Merati (Venice, 1762) pp. 151-156.

[3] People have approached the Congregation of Rites to have Gabriel substituted for Michael, but in vain (S.C.R. 25 Sept. 1705). The allusion may be to Apoc. viii, 3-4 where the angel is not named.

[4] In Ordo Rom. XIV, *loc. cit.* [5] Sarum, *ed. cit.* 593-595.

[6] *Summa Theol.* iii, q. lxxxiii, art. 5 ad 1.

[7] VIII, xi, 12; Brightman, p. 13.

is just before the dismissal of the catechumens, in the Jacobite [1] and Coptic [2] rites after the creed. Originally at Jerusalem it was done in sight of the people.[3] In the Byzantine rite,[4] and under Byzantine influence in the Greek Antiochene and Alexandrine rites, the hands are washed at the beginning, as part of the vesting. In the Roman Mass we have also this preparatory washing at the vesting. The reason of our second washing of hands at the offertory was no doubt the need for it after the long business of receiving loaves and flasks of wine from the people. The exact place of the Lavabo at Rome was not fixed for some time; there are in many Ordines two washings, one before and one after the offertory act. In the first Ordo there is a general washing of hands immediately after the offertory,[5] so also in Ordo II.[6] In the Saint-Amand Ordo we find the two washings, before and after.[7] This double lavabo lasted through the middle ages. Ordo Rom. XIV, has it before the offertory and after the incensing, though the second time it says only that he *may* do so and that it is not the usual custom in the Roman Church.[8] The first washing has now disappeared. In the earlier documents there is no mention of any prayer said while the hands are washed. In the middle ages various suitable forms are found. It was natural that the priest should say some private prayer for purity at the moment, and that eventually such prayers should find their way into the missals. At Salisbury he said: "Munda me Domine ab omni inquinamento mentis et corporis, ut possim mundus

[1] Brightman, p. 82. [2] *Ib.* 162.
[3] St. Cyril: *Catech. myst.* v, 1 (P.G. xxxiii, 1109).
[4] Brightman, p. 356. [5] Ordo Rom. I, 14 (P.L. lxxviii, 944).
[6] 9 (*ib.* 972). [7] Duchesne: *Orig. du culte*, p. 443.
[8] 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1164-1165). Durandus too: *Rationale*, iv, 28; cfr. Benedict XIV: *de ss. Missæ Sacr.* II, xi, 1.

implere opus sanctum Domini."[1] But the most obvious and the commonest form is the one we still have, Ps. xxv, 6-12. Durandus mentions this;[2] it is also the form commonly used in the East.[3]

The Lavabo at this point is the end of the offertory act; so naturally rites that have no offertory before the Preface have no Lavabo either. The old Gallican and Ambrosian washing of hands is at the vesting.[4] The Mozarabic liturgy has a second Romanized offertory and washing, but without any prayer.[5]

Lastly the celebrant sums up the whole offertory by the prayer "Suscipe sancta Trinitas". This too is a mediæval, non-Roman addition. Micrologus knows it as a pious custom only.[6] Some mediæval rites did not have it at all,[7] others had it in variant forms.[8] It was not till the missal of 1570 that it was formally admitted everywhere. It is not clear to whom *istorum* refers ("et istorum et omnium sanctorum"); probably to the saints whose relics are buried in the altar.[9]

§ 7. Secrets.

Before the Secrets the celebrant asks for the prayers of the people ("Orate fratres") and the "minister or those around"[10] do as he asks ("Suscipiat Dominus"). It is again a mediæval addition.

[1] *Missale Sarum*, *ed. cit.* 594.

[2] *Rationale*, iv, 28.

[3] Byzantine (Brightman, p. 356). Armenian (*ib.* 432) etc. The Armenians have the Lavabo after the Great Entrance, again Romanizing influence.

[4] Milan has a second washing before *Qui pridie*, with no prayer.

[5] P.L. lxxxv, 538.

[6] 11 (P.L. cli, 984). Durandus quotes this prayer: *Rationale*, iv, 32, § 1; also Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 (P.L. lxxvii, 1165).

[7] E. gr. Sarum.

[8] Several forms are given in Martène: *op. cit.* i, 392 seq.

[9] So Bona: *Rer. lit.* II, ix, 6.

[10] So the rubric of the missal. The deacon or subdeacon should answer at High Mass (Le Vavasseur: *Manuel de Liturgie*, i, 467).

Ordo Rom. XIV has it.[1] Durandus describes the priest as saying first: "Dominus vobiscum," then: "Orate pro me fratres et ego pro vobis"; he gives a number of alternate forms for the answer.[2] Here too there were many variant forms in the middle ages.[3] The idea is to ask for prayers before the Canon. This is the last opportunity. Our present form is quite beautiful ("meum ac vestrum sacrificium). It is said in a low voice because the offertory chant is still going on. All this group of prayers is said in a low voice, as being an addition to the Mass while the offertory is sung. But certainly nowhere is the whispered voice so anomalous as here, where we address the people. If the *Orate fratres* were an old integral part of the Mass, it would of course be sung loud.

All the prayers so far since the Gospel are, as we have seen, later additions. The old Roman rite had the offering by the people and then, as offertory-prayer, what we call the Secret. The name *Secreta* means that it was said in a low voice, because the offertory-psalm was being sung. For the same reason it is not preceded by "Oremus". Before the Canon began to be whispered, the secret was the only prayer not heard throughout the church. The secrets follow the rules of the collects; they are built up like them. In the earliest documents (the Leonine book, etc.) each collect has a corresponding Secret and Postcommunion. The multiplication of collects at one Mass brought about the multiplication of these prayers too. Like the collects, the secrets allude to the feast or occasion of the Mass; they too form part of the changing *proprium*. But they have the peculiarity that they

[1] 53 (P.L. lxxvii, 1165). [2] *Rationale*, iv, 32, § 3.

[3] Bona: *Rer. lit.* II, ix, 6; Thalhofer: *Handbuch d. Kath. Lit.* ii, 172; *Missale Sarum*, 595. *Missale Mixtum* (P.L. lxxxv, 113). Milan has no such prayer.

are true offertory-prayers. All the old secrets ask God to accept these present gifts, to sanctify them, to give us in return his grace. The Secret for Ember Wednesday in Whitsun week will serve as an example of the simplest form: "Accipe quæsumus Domine munus oblatum; et dignanter operare, ut quod mysteriis agimus piis effectibus celebremus. Per Dominum".[1] In others the idea of the feast is generally combined with the offertory. We ask God to receive the offering that we make in memory of such a feast, or to receive it by the intercession of such a Saint. The combination is often very ingenious. This note of the secret as an offertory-prayer has not been forgotten. Among the later secrets too there are very few that have no offertory allusion.

The last secret ends with the clause "Per omnia sæcula sæculorum," sung aloud. This is merely a warning to the people or choir that the secret is finished, that the Preface is about to begin. As soon as a liturgy begins to have two simultaneous actions or sets of prayers, one by the celebrant in silence at the altar and at the same time another by the deacon or choir aloud in the body of the church, there is the danger of dislocation, that one of the two actions may go ahead and outstrip the other, to the destruction of all concord. So in all such cases it is usual for the otherwise silent celebrant occasionally to sing a clause aloud, to show how far he has arrived. The Eastern rites have developed this principle of simultaneous prayers much more than in the West. Large portions of their liturgies may be described as two services going on at once, one performed by the celebrant in a whisper at the altar, the other sung by the people, led

[1] In the Leonine Sacr. for Whitsunday (2nd Mass, ed. Feltoe, p. 27); Gelasian Sacr. for the Ember Wed. (ed. Wilson, p. 344); Gregorian Sacr. (P.L. lxxviii, 114).

by the deacon, outside the Ikonostasion (where there is one).[1] In order to keep these two services together the Eastern celebrant constantly sings aloud the last phrase of his prayer. This phrase sung aloud is called in Greek the ἐκφώνησις.[2] We have three such ἐκφωνήσεις in the Roman rite, always the same clause: "Per omnia sæcula sæculorum," sung before the Preface, Pater noster and Pax. As this is sung aloud, the choir answers "Amen," though they have not heard the prayer.

[1] This is always a later development, in order to shorten the service. The prayers now said silently by the celebrant during the deacon's litanies were once said aloud at the end. Simultaneous praying has produced some curious distortions which can only be understood by replacing the prayers one after another.

[2] Syriac *telōïtho* (Jac.) and *qānūna* (Nest.). Arabic *i'lān* (Melk. Syr. Un.), or *qā'ilan* (Mar.).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CANON.

1. The Preface.

THOUGH the title "Canon Missæ" now stands after the Sanctus, it is important to remember that the Preface is really part of the Canon. Originally it was counted as such. In the Gelasian Sacramentary the rubric: "Incipit canon actionis" stands before "Sursum corda".[1] The reason of this is plain. The Canon is one long prayer, the Eucharistic prayer (Prayer of Consecration). In accordance with the fact that our Lord at the Last Supper took bread and wine and gave thanks,[2] in all rites this prayer is in the form of a *thanksgiving*. In all the celebrant begins by inviting the faithful to thank God, and then prays in this form, thanking God for his benefits, especially for the coming of the Son of God on earth; so he remembers our Lord's life and in it what our Lord did the night before he died. This introduces the words of Institution. Continuing the same idea of thanksgiving the priest remembers the Ascension and the descent of the Holy Ghost, which seems originally to have introduced the Epiklesis.[3] Into this thanksgiving prayer petitions (the Intercession) are woven at various places. But the

[1] Ed. Wilson, p. 234.
[2] Mt. xxvi, 27; Mk. xiv, 23; Lk. xxii, 19; 1 Cor. xi, 23.
[3] See p. 346.

whole is one prayer, of which the dominant note is the thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) which has given its name to the whole service. It is then clear that our preface is part of it. In the Roman rite too the prayer begins with the "Vere dignum," as in all others. Indeed our preface is the only part in which the idea of thanksgiving is clearly marked. Various causes later led to a separation between the preface and its continuation. First there is the apparent interruption of the Sanctus sung by the people; secondly the rest of the Canon began to be said silently, whereas the preface was still sung; the rest of the Canon remained almost entirely unchanged, whereas this first part is variable according to the feast or season. The changed order of all that follows the Sanctus may also have concealed its unity with the first part. So this first part was given a special name: *Præfatio*, the Preface or Introduction to the Canon, and came to be considered a separate prayer.

The name Preface does not occur in the Leonine or Gelasian books. It is early mediæval. We find it in the Gregorian Sacramentary,[1] in the second Roman Ordo[2] and in all the mediæval commentators.[3] The first Ordo already considers it as separate from the Canon: "When they have finished (the Sanctus) the Pontiff rises and goes alone into the Canon."[4]

In no other rite can one speak properly of a Preface. In the East it is simply the beginning of the Anaphora. It is now said silently, with an Ekphonesis before the Sanctus. The Gallican names *Contestatio* or *Immolatio*, and the Mozarabic *Illatio*

[1] P.L. lxxviii, 20, etc. [2] *Ib.* 973.

[3] Walafrid Strabo: "præfatio actionis" *de eccl. rer. exord. et increm.* P.L. cxiv, 948): Sicardus: *Mitrale* (P.L. ccxiii, 122); Durandus: *Rationale* iv, 33, etc.

[4] Ordo Rom. I, 16 (P.L. lxxviii 945).

cover the whole Eucharistic prayer.[1] Only the present Ambrosian Mass, completely Romanized in its Canon, has prefaces just as we have.

Originally this first part of the Consecration prayer was very long. It contained a list of all the benefits for which we thank God, beginning with creation, going through most of the Old Testament and so coming to Isaias and his mention of the angels who introduce the Sanctus (Is. vi, 3).[2] It is still comparatively long and contains such allusions in the Eastern rites. At Rome it has been shortened, leaving only the general expression: "nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere". The mention of the angels had to remain because of the Sanctus. In the Apost. Const. VIII the angels occur twice, first at the beginning as the first creatures,[3] again much later, probably in connection with Isaias.[4] Drews thinks that at Rome these two allusions merged into one, all the intervening list of benefits being omitted. The words: "Et ideo," at present almost meaningless, would then originally have referred to the list of benefits.[5] Drews has pointed out the parallel between the reference to the angels in the Roman rite and Apost. Const. VIII (above, p. 64, n. 1).

Besides its shortness the other characteristic of the Roman preface is its variable character, according to the feast or season. The place left by the omission of the old list of benefits has been filled by allusions to the occasion of the Mass. The Eastern beginning of the Anaphora never changes; in the West we have

[1] But as the other parts in Spain have special names ("Post Sanctus" etc.), Illatio is often used for what we call the preface only (*Missale mixtum*; P.L. lxxxv, 116 etc.).

[2] Clem. Rom: 1 ad Cor. lix-lxi; Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 6-27 (Brightman: *East. Lit.* 14-18).

[3] VIII. xii, 8 (Brightman, p. 15). [4] VIII. xii, 27 (ib. p. 18).

[5] Drews: *Unters. über die sog. clem. Lit.* 132-133.

proper prefaces.[1] The number of proper prefaces in the Roman rite has varied considerably. Our first document, the Leonine book, has altogether 267, practically one for each Mass. These Leonine prefaces are very curious. In violent opposition to the sober, reticent tone of the Roman rite, they contain all manner of topical, almost personal allusions. It would seem as if the celebrant, compelled to be reticent during the rest of Mass, found an outlet for his feelings in the preface. For instance, after the enemy (perhaps the Goths in 537)[2] had seized the harvest which the Romans laboriously had sown around the city, the celebrant says in a preface: "We admit, O Lord our God, we admit, as thou hast often told us by thy voice, that it belongs to the punishment of our sins that what was planted by the labour of thy servants should before our very eyes be snatched away by other hands, and that what thou didst cause to grow by the sweat of thy faithful thou shouldst allow to be stolen by our enemies. And prostrate we pray with all our heart that thou shouldst grant pardon for our sins and shouldst guard us in continual pity from the attacks of this deadly year; because we know that thy defence will be at hand when thou hast destroyed in us the things by which we have offended. Through."[3] In the next Sacramentary (the Gelasian) this note has disappeared. Its prefaces are much fewer and more

[1] Both the comparative shortness and the varying nature are not only Roman, but *Western*. They are seen equally in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites.

[2] So Mgr. Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 131. But for the date of the Leonianum see above, pp. 118-119.

[3] July, xviii, 6 (ed. Feltoe, 59). The prefaces are one of the reasons why people think that the Leonianum must be a private collection (above p. 118, n. 5). Even more curious examples are the Preface for July, xviii, 20 (Feltoe p. 68) in which there is a long and violent attack on monks, and that of the Whitsun ember day (*ib.* 25-26) which defends elaborately the practice of fasting after Pentecost.

staid. It has (in the Canon) our common preface, and 53 proper ones. The tendency to reduce the number of changing prefaces grows. The Gregorian book has only 10; but another influence (Gallican) adds more than 100 in its appendix.[1] In the prefaces then we see the counter tendency (after variations for the Calendar had been admitted) of reducing the number of changes.[2]

We now have eleven prefaces. Ten of them are in the Gregorian Sacramentary, one (of the Blessed Virgin) was added under Urban II (1088-1099). Tradition says that the Pope himself composed this preface and sang it first at the Synod of Guastalla in 1094.[3] There were a few more prefaces composed in the middle ages, of which some remain in special rites.[4] But the preface was considered on the whole too sacred, too near the intangible Canon to be much altered.

The dialogue at the beginning is common to all liturgies. "Dominus vobiscum" corresponds to the blessing at this point in the Eastern rites.[5] "Sursum corda" is one of the liturgical formulas of which we have the earliest evidence. St. Cyprian quotes it, and its answer.[6] In the Apost. Const. it is: "*Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν*".[7] Brightman mentions as its source Lam. iii, 41.[8] "Habemus (sc. corda) ad Dominum" is the universal, equally old answer. The construction is Greek: *Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.*. The invitation to give thanks introduces the idea of the whole

[1] In the Gallican addition (see p. 122).
[2] See p. 134 for this tendency.
[3] Cfr. Gavanti-Merati: *Thesaurus s. rit.* (ed. cit.) 67 and his authorities.
[4] The Benedictines, for instance, have one about St. Benedict on his feast.
[5] Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 4 (Brightman: *op. cit.* 14) etc.
[6] *de orat. dom.* 31 (P.L. iv, 539).
[7] Brightman, *Ib.* [8] *Ib.* 556.

Eucharistic prayer ("Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro"). With verbal variants it is in all rites.[1] The Jewish grace before meals contain exactly our form: "Let us give thanks to Adonai our God".[2] "Dignum et iustum est"[3] must also come from the earliest age. Its parallelism suggests a Semitic (Hebrew?) form. The celebrant then takes up the people's answer: "Vere dignum et iustum est"[4] and so begins the Eucharistic prayer. Our common preface is the simplest type; the whole list of benefits is reduced to: "per Christum Dominum nostrum" only. The others then have the allusions to the special occasion, most of them (notably the Easter preface) exceedingly beautifully introduced. There are three forms by which the angels are introduced for the Sanctus. The commonest is: "per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli";[5] the form: "et ideo cum angelis" occurs for Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Apostles and: "quapropter . . . sed et supernæ virtutes" only for Pentecost. The "dicentes" with which all end refers to us, except in this last form in which it means the angels. The people or choir continue the sentence: "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus".

§ 2. Sanctus.

This is, of course, merely the continuation of the preface. It would be quite logical if the celebrant sang it straight on himself. But the dramatic touch of letting the people fill in the choral chant of the

[1] Apost. Const: Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ (*ib.* 14).
[2] In the Mishna: *Berakhoth*, 6.
[3] Apost. Const: Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον (Brightman, *ib*).
[4] Ap. Const: Ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον πρὸ πάντων ἀνυμνεῖν σε, κτλ (Brightman, *ib*). The Alexandrine form of all this dialogue and beginning of the prayer approaches nearest to Rome.
[5] The Trinity preface: "quam laudant angeli" is a variant of this.

angels, in which (as the preface says) we also wish to join, is an obvious idea, a very early one and quite universal. Clement of Rome, after quoting the text Is. vi, 3 seems to imply that we sing these words together.[1] Tertullian refers to the liturgical Sanctus[2] and many others down to Athanasius,[3] Cyril of Jerusalem[4] and the fathers of the fourth century. In nearly all the old liturgies it is found at the place where we have it.[5] But it is wanting in one class, the Egyptian Church orders[6] and *Test Domini*.[7] Nor is it said in the Abyssinian "Liturgy of our Lord";[8] but this is not fresh evidence, since that is merely the liturgy of *Test Domini* with a few alterations. For this reason Abbot Cabrol,[9] Dom Cagin[10] and their school represent the Sanctus as not primitive, and accept the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis* that it was added by Sixtus I (p. 322).

In the Apostolic Constitutions the text of the Sanctus is: "Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth. The heaven and the earth (are) full of his glory. Blessed for ever. Amen."[11] The Alexandrine form is still shorter: "Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth. The heaven and the earth (are) full of thy holy glory."[12] Antioch has exactly the same text as Rome.[13] So had the Gallican rite, and now Milan and Toledo. In this

[1] 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxxiv, 6-7; see above, p. 13.
[2] *de orat.* 3 (P.L. i, 1156); above, p. 40.
[3] *de trin. et spir.* 16 (P.G. xxvi, 1208).
[4] *Catech.* v, 6 (P.G. xxxiii, 1113).
[5] Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 27 (Brightman, 18-19); St. James (*ib.* 50-51); St. Mark (*ib.* 132).
[6] Not in the Ethiopic Church order, nor in Hauler's Verona fragment. See above, p. 60.
[7] See the tables in Maclean: *Anc. Church Orders*, p. 40.
[8] In Cooper and Maclean: *The Test of Our Lord*, pp. 245-248.
[9] *Les Origines lit.* 329; *Livre de Prière ant.* 111.
[10] *L'Eucharistia*, 98-100. [11] Brightman, 18-19. [12] *Ib.* 132.
[13] Except: κύριε σαβαώθ instead of "Domine Deus Sabaoth"; *ib.* 50-51. The Roman form is Is. vi, 3, in the Vulgate, not LXX, nor Massora.

the cry of the people on Palm Sunday (Mt. xxi, 9) is added to Is. vi, 3. In all the Hebrew word Sabaoth צבאות, (*Σαβαώθ*, "armies") is kept.[1] Hosanna (הוֹשׁיעה נא Oh help) had already become an interjection of triumph in our Lord's time. The cry of Mt. xxi, 9 is based on Ps. cxvii, 25-26. "Hosanna to the God of David (*ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυίδ*) occurs as a liturgical formula in the *Didache*, x, 6. All our "Benedictus qui venit" forms part of the answer of the people at the elevation (before Communion) in Apost. Const. VIII, xiii, 13 (Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 24).

It has been suggested that the second half (Benedictus) was originally an acclamation addressed to the celebrant (or Emperor) and only later became a hymn to Christ, at first later in the service (as in Apost. Const.), then added to the Sanctus when sung by the choir, so as to coincide with the elevation.[2] Its presence at Antioch seems to be against this.

The Liber Pontificalis ascribes the *Sanctus* to Pope Sixtus I (119-128).[3] We have seen that Clement I mentions it; its use in so many different rites seems rather to argue a very early common origin. The second Council of Vaison (529), in Gaul, ordered the Sanctus to be sung not only on solemn feasts but at every Mass, even in Lent and at funerals.[4] In Ordo Rom. I. 16[5] and II, 10[6] the regionary subdeacons

[1] Vulg. translates it: "exercituum". בעל צבאות (the Lord of Hosts) is an old Semitic divine name, possibly once used for the moon-god. The Hosts were the stars (the host of heaven, Gen. ii, 1; Ps. xxxii, 6). We understand them to be the angels, as in Lk. ii, 13 (see Schrader: *Die Keilinschriften u. das A. Test.*; 3rd ed. by Zimmern and Winckler, Berlin, 1903, p. 456).

[2] Atchley: (*Ordo rom. primus*, 91-95) says about the XIth century, but the introduction of the elevation is later than this.

[3] Ed. Duchesne, i, 128.

[4] Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, ii, 1114 (Can. 3).

[5] P.L. lxxviii, 945. [6] *Ib.* 973-974.

sing it. In Ordo XI, 20[1] it is sung by the "basilicarii" (choir).

It is worth noticing that our simple Sanctus tone (for ferias of Advent and Lent, Requiems, at the blessing of Palms) is the only one that continues the melody of the Preface. Others are more or less elaborate compositions, like the Kyries. Their long neums were in mediæval times sometimes filled up with a new text; so that there were farced Sanctus (though less often) too.[2] The Sanctus and Benedictus are one text and should be sung through without a break. The practice of waiting till after the Consecration and then singing: "Benedictus qui venit," etc.—once common—is not allowed by the Vatican Gradual.[3]

§ 3. Name, Extent and general Character of the Canon.

Now the missal puts the title *Canon Missæ* before the *Te igitur* prayer. We have seen that originally the Preface was counted as part of the Canon, that by nature it is so always (p. 315).

The Consecration prayer has been called by various names. The common Greek name is *'Αναφορά.*[4] In the Semitic languages it is *qūddāshā* (Syriac), *quddās* (Arabic).[5] In Latin it is called *prex* by many Fathers,[6] also *sacrificiorum orationes*,[7] *actio gratiarum* (= *εὐχα-*

[1] P L. lxxviii, 1033.

[2] Examples of tropi for the Sanctus (one ascribed to St. Thomas Aquinas) will be found in Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii, 10, § 4.

[3] See the rubrics therein: *De ritibus servandis in cantu missæ*, no. vii.

[4] Almost exactly the Latin *oblatio* (*ἀναφέρω*, to offer up). *'Αναφορά* is also used for the gifts offered, as *προσφορά.*

[5] Also *nāfūrah*, *nāfūr* (forms of *ἀναφορά*).

[6] St. Cyprian: Ep. xv, 1 (P.L. iv, 265); Ep. lx, 4 (*ib.* 362); Ep. lxvi, i (*ib.* 398); St. Gregory I: Ep. ix, 12 (P.L. lxxvii, 956).

[7] Tertullian: *de orat.* 19 (P.L. i, 1181).

ριστία).[1] *Actio* is not uncommon; *agere* (like δρᾶν) meaning *to sacrifice.* St. Leo I uses *agitur* in the sense: "Mass is said".[2] *Agenda* occurs too, also *legitimum, regula, secretum missæ.*[3] The name that has prevailed is *Canon* (actionis or missæ). Pope Vigilius (537-555) writes of the "prex canonica".[4] John of Syracuse in writing to Gregory I had already used the word Canon.[5] From the early middle ages this becomes the technical and practically exclusive name. Its original meaning is not obvious. *Κανών* means a norm or rule.[6] A common idea is that our Eucharistic prayer is called Canon because it is the lawful manner, the firm rule according to which we must consecrate.[7] It has been suggested that our Canon was fixed at Rome (possibly by St. Damasus) as the one invariable form, instead of the alternative prayers used before.[8] The name would then mean the fixed standard to which all must now conform.[9] Further it seems to be the Canon which is designated in the Penitential of Cummean when we read "Si titubaverit sacerdos super orationem dominicam quæ dicitur 'periculosa,' si una vice, quinquaginta plagas". Dom Gougaud seems to have shown clearly that this cannot be the *Pater noster* but the Canon of the Mass.[10]

[1] Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv, 9 (P.L. ii, 376 A).

[2] Ep. 9, ad Dioscurum Alex. (P.L. liv, 627); Walafrid Strabo: *de eccl. rer.* 22 (P.L. cxiv, 948).

[3] Cfr. Gihr: *Das h. Messopfer*, p. 540 and below, Appendix I.

[4] Ep. 2, ad. Eutherium vel Profuturum (P.L. lxix, 18).

[5] P.L. lxxvii, 956.

[6] So the Canon of Scriptures, Canons of Synods, Canon of Saints approved (hence to canonize), Canon or list of clerks who have to serve a Cathedral (whence they are Canonici).

[7] Wal. Strabo: *de eccl. rer.* 22 (P.L. cxiv, 950); Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 35, § 2; Benedict XIV: *de ss. missæ sacrif.* ii, 12.

[8] As most Eastern rites have a number of different anaphoras.

[9] So E. Burbridge: Atchley: *Ordo Rom. primus*, p. 96.

[10] See Gougaud, in *Report of the 19th Eucharistic Congress*, Lond., 1909, p. 355.

We must now say that the Canon begins at the *Te igitur*. It ends with the ekphonesis ("per omnia sæcula sæculorum") before the Pater noster. So Gregory I says that the Lord's prayer is said "immediately after the Canon (mox post precem)".[1] Ordo Rom. I does not mention the Pater noster and is vague at this point;[2] but Ordo III implies that it ends at the moment we say.[3] Benedict XIV defends the same view[4] and the rubrics of the missal leave no doubt about it,[5] although the heading: "Canon missæ" goes on to the end. A common mediæval distinction was between the Canon consecrationis (as above) and Canon communionis (from the Lord's Prayer to the end of the Communion).[6] By Canon we now mean only the former.

All the Canon (except its ekphonesis at the end) is said silently. This is already in Ordo Rom. II;[7] it has been so ever since. It is difficult to say when that custom began or what was its original reason. Undoubtedly during the first three centuries the people heard the consecration-prayer.[8] The fact that the old Roman offertory-prayers are called Secrets because they are not heard shows that there was a time when this was the special note of them alone. The mediæval and most modern commentators on the Mass find a mystic reason for this. It is done from reverence, to shield the sacred text from the vulgar, because it is a priestly prayer only.[9] On the other hand, it is not

[1] Ep. ix, 12 (P.L. lxxvii, 956).
[2] § 18 (P.L. lxxviii, 945).
[3] § 16 (*ib.* 981).
[4] *de SS. missæ sacr.* II, 19, (§ 1.)
[5] *Ritus celebr.* 9 and 10.
[6] Cfr. Gihr: *op. cit.* 540.
[7] § 10 (P.L. lxxviii, 974).
[8] Tertullian: *de spectac.* 25 (P.L. i, 657); Dionysius Alexandr. (in Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.* vii, 9); St. Ambrose: *de mysteriis*, ix, 54 (P.L. xvi, 407) and many others say or imply that the prayer, or at least the words of institution, were said aloud. The people answered Amen after the words.
[9] Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 35, § 2; Benedict XIV: *op. cit.* ii, 23; Gihr: *Das h. Messopfer*, 543-545.

easy to see why a silent prayer should be more reverent than one heard; the vulgar are already supposed to be excluded, the faithful who will receive Communion are surely not unworthy to hear the consecration, although they do not join in the priestly prayer. A story is told by John Moschos († 619),[1] often repeated, as the reason for our silent Canon, which, were it the true reason, would fix the date of this rule. The story is that some boys in Palestine were playing at church and repeated the words of the anaphora which they had heard, when fire came from heaven, destroyed their altar and nearly killed them. Recovering they told the bishop of the place what had happened; from that time the custom began of saying the consecration-prayer silently, to shield it from such profanation.[2] Cardinal Bona, on the other hand, thinks it was not till the Xth century that this custom began.[3] Benedict XIV considers it quite early and connects the silent recitation with the disciplina arcani.[4] This is certainly a wrong idea. The arcanum hid the mysteries from the uninitiated; but at the Liturgy of the Faithful, for that very reason, only the initiated were present. Once more, a man who could receive Communion could hear any prayer.

We notice first that to say prayers secretly began as a tendency rather than a rule. In the VIth century the Emperor Justinian I (527-565) published a law commanding bishops and priests to "make the divine oblation and the prayer which is said in holy baptism not secretly, but with a voice that may be

[1] A monk at Mar Saba near Jerusalem who eventually came to Rome and died there. He wrote a collection of stories about monks which he called Λειμών. It is now usually known as Νέος παράδεισος, in Latin: *Pratum spirituale* (P.G. lxxxvii, 3 col. 2852-3112).

[2] *Pratum spir.* cap. 196; (*ib.* 3080-3084); Beleth: *Rationale*, xliv, (P.L. ccii, 52) Benedict XIV: *op. cit.* ii, 23, § 6, and many others.

[3] *Rer. liturg.* II, xiii, § 1. [4] *de ss. missæ sacr.* ii, 23, § 12.

heard by the faithful people".[1] So secret praying had already begun. Secondly it should be noticed that our silent Canon is an example of a very common thing. In the Eastern liturgies much more than in the West the celebrant prays silently (μυστικῶς), while the people (generally with the deacon) say other prayers aloud. And, thirdly, the reason for this in general is to shorten the service. Originally undoubtedly everything was said aloud, first one part, then the other. The desire to hasten made the celebrant begin his prayers before the people had finished theirs, instead of waiting; and so, of course, he had to say them in a low voice. It seems most probable that in the West the same motive began the practice of praying secretly.[2] There are obvious cases of this still. Few priests wait till the choir has finished: "Sed libera nos a malo" and "Et cum Spiritu tuo" at the Pax before they go on with their prayers. So apparently at the Canon. The Sanctus sung by the choir took some time; meanwhile the celebrant went on with the prayer, which in that case had to be said silently. So it became a custom, a tradition, and later mystic reasons were found for it.

In the Eastern rites the Anaphora is said silently, but with several ekphoneseis. In all, except that of the Nestorians, the words of institution and the Epiklesis[3] are chanted aloud.

We have seen that later abbreviations and displacements have disturbed the continuous unity of the Roman Canon.[4] The various theories about its

[1] Novella clxxiv, 6 (ed. Lingenthal, Teubner, 1881, II, 412).

[2] Except in the case of the Secrets, which were always meant to be private prayers said during the offertory-chant (p. 312). The (later) preparatory prayers too were always private prayers during the Introit (p. 225), and the late Communion prayers during the Communion antiphon (pp. 381-383).

[3] The Armenian Epiklesis is said silently (Brightman: *op. cit.* 439)

[4] Pp. 170-171.

recasting have been explained at length in the first part.[1] It is not necessary to discuss all that again. Here it will be sufficient to add some notes to the text of our Canon as it stands, supposing the form it has had unchanged since the Gelasian Sacramentary. Here we part company with other rites. The Roman Canon is *sui generis* and cannot be paralleled in any other rite, though echoes of its prayers may be found in nearly all. The Gallican Canon was arranged quite differently and was much shorter.[2] The Mozarabic Mass has its Intercession in the Gallican place, at the offertory. After the Sanctus a short prayer ("Vere Sanctus") leads to an invocation of our Lord ("Adesto, adesto Iesu bone pontifex")[3] and to the words of institution. An elevation accompanies a short general anamnesis. The "Post pridie" prayer asks for a blessing; then follow the Nicene creed, a complicated fraction with a symbolic arrangement of the fragments in a cross, and so the introduction to the Lord's prayer.[4] In the Milanese Mass the Roman Canon has displaced the older Consecration prayer, of which, however, vestiges remain.[5]

§ 4. Te igitur to the Words of Institution.

Te igitur now begins the Roman Canon. We have seen the difficulty of the word *igitur* (which at present does not seem to refer to anything) and the theories that this prayer either began the Intercession after the Epiklesis,[6] or was (in its first part) the Roman Epiklesis.[7] It certainly does not seem that the *igitur* can be explained in its present place. The prayer has somewhat

[1] Chap. iii, §§ 5-14.
[2] Duchesne: *Origines du culte*, pp. 204-211.
[3] This invocation is a later addition; it is not found in the *Liber ordinum*.
[4] Missale mixtum; P.L. lxxxv, 539-560.
[5] Above, p. 106.
[6] Drews, above, p. 159.
[7] Buchwald, p. 152.

the appearance of a form composed from two others. The first half (to "sacrificia illibata") asks God to accept and bless the offering; the second abruptly begins the Intercession. The terms "hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata" suppose the Consecration; but this might well be merely another dramatic anticipation, as "immaculata hostia" at the offertory (p. 305), or rather evidence that the whole consecration-prayer is one thing and should be considered ideally as one act, one moment.[1] The signs of the cross, naturally following the words, are in MSS. of the Gelasian book.[2]

The Intercession (from "in primis"), now spread throughout the Canon, begins by praying for the Church, Pope, bishop and the faithful. Mediæval missals have: "et rege nostro N." after the bishop. This was omitted in 1570, but certain Catholic countries still keep the custom of praying for the sovereign here.[3] Before the XIth century the local bishop was often not mentioned.[4] In the middle ages the celebrant added a prayer for himself.[5] The commonest form was: "Mihi quoque indignissimo famulo tuo propitius esse digneris, et ab omnibus me peccatorum offensionibus emundare."[6] The word "orthodoxi" is rare in the West. This prayer has striking parallels with the Intercession of the Antiochene rite.[7]

[1] See below p. 347.

[2] Ed. Wilson, p. 234. The kiss of the altar at "petimus" is first mentioned by Sicardus: *Mitrale* iii, 6 (P.L. ccxiii, 124). With the extension of hands, looking up and bowing down it forms a mute invocation. In Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1165) the celebrant kisses the altar and the picture of the crucifixion at the beginning of the Canon.

[3] So Austria and Hungary.

[4] For the Pope's name, always first in Catholic liturgies, see Bona: *Rer. lit.* II, xi, 2.

[5] *Ib.* II, xi, 5.

[6] Bona, *ib.*; Ebner: *Quellen u. Forsch. zur Gesch. u. Kunstgesch. des Miss. Rom.* (Freiburg, 1896), 401.

[7] Brightman: *op. cit.* 89-90; above p. 158.

The uplifted hands during all the Canon are the traditional attitude of prayer, as may be seen in Catacomb paintings.

The Intercession continues in the *Commemoratio pro vivis*. This is the place of the diptychs of the living. "Pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt" is a reduplication. Both expressions refer to the same persons. The first ("pro quibus tibi offerimus") is missing in all early Sacramentaries[1] and in the Greek version of the Mass (Liturgy of St. Peter, IXth cent. see p. 161, n. 1).[2] If we accept Dom Cagin's theory that the diptychs once came at the offertory in the Roman rite (p. 144) the older form of this prayer will seem to confirm it. Namely the celebrant, after the names, prays specially for those "qui tibi offerunt," who make their offering. And "pro quibus tibi offerimus" would seem to be an addition made after the prayer had been moved to the Canon. On the other hand, the parallel Antiochene form has: "those who have brought these offerings . . . and those for whom each one has brought them, or whom he has in mind".[3] "Sacrificium laudis" is from Ps. xlix, 23; this expression with the two others, "pro redemptione animarum" and "pro spe salutis et incolumitatis" express well the threefold idea of sacrifice—praise, atonement, petition.

The *Communicantes* prayer is headed: "Infra actionem". But all the prayers of the Canon are infra actionem. Why the title here? The point is that the Communicantes has clauses inserted for certain feasts and, in these augmented forms, is printed among the prefaces. In that place, as distinct from the preface, the heading is obvious. At Christmas we say the proper preface and then, "infra actionem" (within the

[1] Gelasian (ed. Wilson, p. 234), Gregorian (P.L. lxxviii, 26).
[2] Ed. Swainson, p. 196. [3] Brightman, p. 56.

Canon) the proper Communicantes. Then that heading was looked upon as the regular title of this prayer and so was used, superfluously, at its normal place too.

The prayer with the same list of Saints is in the Gelasian book.[1] Local uses, especially in Gaul, added local Saints, monks often put in St. Benedict.[2] The Saints are our Lady (introduced with great dignity and with her title *θεοτόκος*, so presumably after the Council of Ephesus),[3] St. Peter and St. Paul, other ten Apostles (leaving out St. Matthias) to make twelve altogether, five martyr Popes, one not-Roman martyr bishop (St. Cyprian), the great Roman martyr deacon, St. Lawrence, and five Roman lay martyrs. We notice that all are martyrs, again a mark of antiquity,[4] that all except St. Cyprian are Romans. Our Mass is the local liturgy of the city of Rome. It is pleasant to see that St. Cyprian, in spite of his mistake about heretical baptism and his serious disagreement with Rome, has always been so honoured by the Apostolic See, that he is the one foreigner here among her local Saints. It is strange that St. John the Baptist, who otherwise is always counted first among the Saints,[5] does not occur here. The twelve martyrs are meant

[1] Adding "et Eleutherii" last (ed. Wilson, 234).

[2] *Ib.* and Sacr. Gregor.; P.L. lxxviii, 26-27.

[3] So in the Eastern anaphoras (except, of course, that of the Nestorians). This does not mean that all anaphoras were written after Ephesus. The great insistence of the title *θεοτόκος* among Catholics after that council would lead to its addition at the place where our Lady was already named. Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 43 (Brightman, 21-22) in the intercession has only a list of kinds of Saints without names and it prays *for* them (*ὑπέρ*), just as for other people—a vagueness that is a mark of antiquity and a sign that this liturgy was no longer used in the Vth century.

[4] The cult of Saints began as the cult of martyrs.

[5] On the best possible authority, Mt. xi, 11. The cult of St. Joseph is, of course, quite a modern development. He does not occur in any old rite. St. John the Baptist is named in the Alexandrine and Antiochene Intercessions after our Lady (Brightman, 169, 93). He has his right place in the *Nobis quoque*.

evidently to balance the apostles. Gregory III (731-741) added to the Vatican basilica a chapel containing many relics, dedicated to All Saints. The monks who served this chapel added after "et omnium Sanctorum tuorum" the further clause: "quorum solemnitas hodie in conspectu tuo celebratur, Domine Deus noster, in toto orbe terrarum". This is found in some mediæval missals.[1] All such additions disappeared in 1570. Only some French dioceses still add St. Hilary and St. Martin to the list.[2]

A list of Saints occurs in all Intercession-prayers.[3] It is natural that when we pray for all the Church of Christ we should remember that part of it which reigns with him. The form: "Communicantes et memoriam venerantes" is difficult. "Communicantes" means "in communion with," a quite beautiful insistence on our union with the Saints in one body. "Memoriam venerantes" marks the differences between the Saints and other Catholics on earth. It corresponds to the Eastern "*μνησθῆναι καταξίωσον*"[4] and must have taken the place of the "*ὑπέρ*"[5] when the theology of the cult of Saints became more definite. But why these participles? No finite verb follows (except in a dependent clause). They must be taken as finite verbs. One can make the phrase very bad Latin by understanding "sumus". Rather understand it as: "Communicamus cum eis et memoriam veneramur eorum". In the New Testament there is an example of a participle standing for an indicative (Rom. ix, 6, both Greek and Vulgate).[6]

[1] Benedict XIV: *de ss. missæ sacr.* II, xiii, 12.

[2] Duchesne: *Orig. du Culte*, p. 172.

[3] Antioch (Brightman, p. 56-57); Alexandria (*ib.* 129); Byzantine (*ib.* 388) etc.

[4] So Antioch, *loc. cit.*

[5] As in Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 43 (Brightman, 21).

[6] The five additions to the *Communicantes* (for Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost) are very beautiful and very old. All, with

This group of three prayers forms half the Roman Intercession. We notice again the curious anomaly that the rest comes after the Consecration.[1] Separated from its continuation, this first part now ends with "per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen" thus making the first of many breaks in what was presumably once a continuous prayer.

Hanc igitur is perhaps the most difficult prayer in the Mass. We have seen Baumstark's idea (accepted by Drews, p. 162) that this is the fragment of the original litany of Intercession said by the deacon (p. 150). We have also seen the tradition that St. Gregory I added the second half: "diesque nostros" etc. (p. 137) and Buchwald's theory as to why this was done (p. 155). We now have an additional clause to the *Hanc igitur* on four occasions, Maundy Thursday, Easter, Whitsunday and at a bishop's ordination. There were once many more. The Gelasian Sacramentary has 38 such additions for various occasions. They may well be remnants of the old litany. The celebrant stretches his hands over the oblata, a late ceremony. It occurs first in the XVth century. Ordo Rom. XIV still does not know it.[2] In Durandus' time a profound inclination was made.[3] The Dominicans and Carmelites still keep this older custom. The extended hands are only a way of (practically) touching the oblata at the moment when they are so specially named, or a kind of silent invocation.

slight variations, are Gelasian. There were once many more. These remain after the reform of Pius V as one of the two possible alterations of the otherwise unchanging Canon. A suggestion (which I owe to Mr. W. C. Bishop) is that the text should be punctuated: "incolumitatis suæ. Tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo, vivo et vero, communicantes, et memoriam venerantes". . . . The "que" of "tibique" is missing in the best MSS. (ed. Wilson, p. 234). "Communicantes" would mean "receiving holy Communion".

[1] See p. 111. [2] P.L. lxxviii, 1166. [3] *Rationale*, iv, 39, § 1.

Quam oblationem is certainly an invocation, though not of the Holy Ghost. Mr. W. C. Bishop (p. 147), and Mr. Edmund Bishop (*ib.* n. 3) think that this is *the* Epiklesis of the Roman rite. There are strong reasons against this. It seems certain that Rome once had an Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost (p. 405) and far more probable that what is left of it is the *Supplices* prayer after the words of Institution (p. 406). With regard to this prayer we may note here that invocations are to be found in different places in most liturgies. The so-called Epiklesis is not an isolated phenomenon (p. 403). The five epithets: "benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque" are difficult. Rietschel says they are "unintelligible".[1] The text in *de Sacramentis* has four of them: "adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque" (see p. 130). The Missale gallicanum vetus (p. 102) changes *ratam* into *gratam*, keeps *acceptabilem* and modifies the three others into verbs "benedicere, suscipere (=ascriptam), sanctificare (for rationabilem)."[2] The Greek version (Lit. S. Petri) also understands *gratam*, which it renders ἐράσμιον, makes a curious mistake about *ascriptam*, taking it as meaning "unwritten" (*a* privative!) and translates it ἀπερίγραπτον (undescribed, uncircumscribed).[3] But the five epithets are not so impossible to explain, as they stand. "Rationabilis" is taken from Rom. xii, 1 ("reasonable sacrifice"). The whole clause is: "deign to make (the sacrifice) blessed, enrolled, established, reasonable, acceptable".[4] "In omnibus" means "thoroughly". "Ut *nobis* fiat" is a common expression in such invocations. *De Sacramentis* has:

[1] *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i, p. 382.
[2] Muratori: *Liturgia romana*, ii, 705.
[3] Swainson: *The Greek Liturgies* (Cambridge, 1884) p. 197.
[4] Cfr. Thalhofer: *Handbuch der Kath. Liturgik*, i, 382.

"Fac nobis" (p. 130). The Epiklesis of Apost. Const. VIII has "to show this bread to be the body of thy Christ".[1] Similarly that of St. James's liturgy is: "Send the Holy Ghost on us and on these present holy gifts," etc.

Qui pridie. In all rites such a relative introduces the words of Institution, referring to our Lord.[2] The history of the Last Supper (and the Passion) in which the words occur was presumably once longer. It is more detailed in some rites.[3] We have the shortest possible allusion: "pridie quam pateretur".[4] We have noticed *pridie* as typically Western, instead of the Eastern: "on the *night* in which he was betrayed" (p. 99). "Elevatis oculis"; the gospels do not say this. Benedict XIV says it is a tradition.[5] Our Lord did so when he gave thanks at the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Joh. vi, 5, 11). "Gratias agens" (εὐλογήσας Mt. xxvi, 26; Mk. xiv, 22; εὐχαριστήσας Mt. xxvi, 27; Mk. xiv, 23; Lk. xxii, 17, 19; 1 Cor. xi, 24)[6] is the expression that occurs here in all liturgies; it has given the name "Eucharist" to the whole service. In all accounts our Lord consecrated the bread before the wine. So in all rites, except the Didache (ix, 2-3). The actual words of institution have verbal variations in different rites. The Gospels and 1 Cor. xi have for the bread the form: "Hoc est corpus meum". Mark has be-

[1] Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 39 (Brightman, p. 21). Unless ἀποφαίνειν here means "to constitute," as often in Greek.

[2] *Ib.* Antioch, p. 51; Alexandria, p. 132.

[3] *Ib.* Jacobite, pp. 86-87; Coptic, p. 176; Armenian, p. 436.

[4] On Maundy Thursday: "Qui pridie quam pro nostra omniumque salute pateretur, hoc est hodie". Dom G. Morin maintains that this was once the form at every Mass (*Revue Bén.* xxvii, 1910, pp. 513-515). Perhaps it was a protest against predestinationism in the Vth century.

[5] *de ss. missæ sacr.* 160.

[6] εὐλογεῖν and εὐχαριστεῖν mean the same thing, to bless in the form of giving thanks (ברכה).

fore this: "Sumite," Matthew: "Accipite et comedite,' 1 Cor. xi: "Accipite et manducate." Luke and Paul add: "quod pro vobis datur (1 Cor. xi: tradetur); hoc facite in meam commemorationem". Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 37 has the form: "This (is) the mystery of the New Testament. Take of it, eat. This is my body, broken for many for the forgiveness of sins."[1] Our Roman form adds "omnes" and "enim". It leaves the command to do so till after the consecration of the chalice. There is still more variety in the second form (Mt. xxvi, 27-28; Mk. xiv, 23-24; Lk. xxii, 20; 1 Cor. xi, 23). Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 37: "In the same way[2] having mixed the chalice of wine and water and having sanctified it (ἁγιάσας) he gave it to them saying: Drink ye all of this. This is my blood, shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this in memory of me; as often as you shall eat this bread and drink this chalice you shall announce my death until I come."[3] The form "hunc præclarum calicem" should be noticed. It is unique. *De Sacram.* iv, 5 (presumably an older Roman form) has: "Similiter etiam calicem . . . accepit"; so all other liturgies. "Hunc præclarum" is Gelasian. I take it that the dramatic identification of the chalice we actually hold with the one our Lord held is a sign of Roman insistence on the words of Institution as the consecrating form. This makes it impossible to understand the text as merely a historic statement, in the way demanded by the Orthodox rubric at this point.[4] "Postquam coenatum est" is in all rites.[5] It means that the cup our Lord consecrated was the fourth (last)

[1] Brightman, p. 20.

[2] The form for the chalice begins thus in all rites: "Simili modo" (Roman), "Similiter" (Gall. and Mozar.), ὡσαύτως (Ant., Alex.) etc.

[3] Brightman, p. 20.

[4] Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα (Venice, 1898) p. 63.

[5] μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι. Antioch, Brightman, p. 52; Alex. p. 133; Byzant. p. 386, etc.

Hallel cup (p. 71). The words of institution for the chalice are mainly from St. Matthew; "Calix sanguinis mei" is adapted from St. Luke and St. Paul; "pro vobis" from St. Luke, "pro multis" from St. Matthew. The last clause: "Hæc quotiescumque feceritis" etc. is again slightly modified from St. Paul. Two additions, "et æterni" and "mysterium fidei," are not in the Bible. The words "mysterium fidei" have been much discussed.[1] Apost. Const. has for the bread: "this is the mystery of the New Testament" (above p. 336). The only other liturgy that has the words "mysterium fidei" is the Gallican in St. Germanus.[2] *De Sacramentis* does not have them (p. 130). Probably they are a Gallican addition. It may be that they were once an exclamation said by someone else. Many rites have such an exclamation. In the East the people say Amen after each form;[3] there are other exclamations, as at Antioch: "We believe and we confess" by the deacons, and: "We announce thy death, O Lord, and we confess thy resurrection" by the people.[4] May be that once (in Gaul) the deacon cried out "a mystery of faith" at this moment, meaning that it was only for the faithful, not for catechumens nor strangers.

In the middle ages the last words: "Hæc quotiescumque" etc. were sometimes said after the elevation.[5]

§ 5. The Elevation.

We must distinguish between the idea of an elevation in general and our present elevation immediately after the words of institution. All liturgies, from that of

[1] See Gihr; *op. cit.* p. 599. [2] P.L. lxxii, 93.
[3] St. James (Brightman, 54); St. Mark (*ib.* 132-133); Byzantine (*ib.* 385-386).
[4] *Ib.* 52. [5] So Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1166).

the Apostolic Constitutions on, have an elevation of the Blessed Sacrament. The idea is to show it to the people. In all it takes place just before the communion. In the Eastern rites it is accompanied by the words "Holy things for the holy" (*Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, Sancta sanctis)[1] to which the people answer with a suitable exclamation: "One is holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ in the Glory of God the Father,"[2] or some such words. It is thus an act of reverence to the Blessed Sacrament before communion, with the idea of showing the people what they are about to receive. This elevation forms part of the rite of fraction (p. 359). Rome too has it just before the Pater noster (*ib.*).

Our elevation at the words of institution is quite another matter. It is a late mediæval ceremony. Till about the XIIth century there is no trace of it. The Canon was said straight through. The Elevation at this moment is again a Northern custom. It began in France and was adopted at Rome rather later. By the XIVth century it is established in the Roman Ordo.[3] What was the origin of this ceremony? The common opinion, repeated in all the handbooks[4] is that it began as a protest against Berengar's denial of transubstantiation. This must now be given up. Berengar's heresy had very little to do with it. On reflection it will be seen that, as far as an elevation may be a protest against a denial of transubstantiation, the old elevation at *per quem hæc omnia* was sufficient. Nor is it a declaration of belief in consecration by the words of

[1] Apost. Const. VIII, xiii, 12, Brightman, p. 24; Antioch, *ib.* p. 62; Alex. p. 138; Byz. p. 393; Nest. p. 296. The Mozarabic (and Gallican) rite have the form "Sancta sanctis" (not said aloud, without an answer) at the intinction (P.L. lxxxv, 560-561), probably borrowed from the East.

[2] Byz. Brightman, p. 393; Alex. has a Trinitarian form: "One holy Father, one holy Son," etc. (*ib.* 138).

[3] Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1166), without genuflection.

[4] Gihr: *Das h. Messopfer*, 602; Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, 383, etc.

institution, though it seems to commit us to that belief.[1]

Father Thurston has examined the origin of the elevation and has thrown what appears to be new light on the question.[2] His conclusions, in outline, are these. The lifting of the Host began as raising it *before* the words of institution were spoken. We still lift it from the altar and hold it at the words "accepit panem". In the XIIth century it was usual to lift it as high as the breast and to hold it thus while the words were spoken.[3] Then the priest simply laid it on the altar and went on at once to the consecration of the chalice. While the Host was being consecrated it was held high enough to be seen by the people. Gradually the custom arose of holding it a little longer, that they might still see it. In fact bishops began to fear that the people might worship it before the consecrating words were said; so there is a series of laws forbidding priests to lift it to their sight too soon.[4] The practice of elevating the Blessed Sacrament immediately the words "Hoc est enim corpus meum" had been spoken, developed as a sign that the bread was consecrated then at once. For, in the XIIth century and chiefly at the University of Paris, there was much dispute as to this point; several theologians maintained the view that the bread was not consecrated till after the consecration of the wine. The question

[1] I am not quite sure. One might perhaps take the elevation as one more dramatic misplacement, like the "immaculata hostia" at the offertory, the Byzantine Cherubikon etc. Is Consecration by the words of Institution *de fide?* It certainly seems to be *sententia catholica.* Pius VII (May, 1822) forbade any other theory to be defended.

[2] In the *Tablet*, Oct. 19, 26, Nov. 2, 1907. He quotes however Claude de Vert (p. 604) as having already said much of this. See Claude de Vert: *Explication simple, littérale et historique des cérémonies de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1713) iii, pp. 261-264.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] So e.gr. a Scottish Synod about the year 1227 (*Tablet*, loc. cit. 605), etc. See also the rubric of the Sarum missal (ed. Burntisland, 615, note F.).

became practical in the case of an interruption between the consecrations. If there were then found to be no wine in the chalice, or if the celebrant were taken sick and had to leave the altar, should the bread too be consecrated again? Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) was not sure and recommended for safety that it should be.[1] A number of other writers have the same doubt, or even declare that the first consecration alone is certainly invalid.[2] Meanwhile the other school prevails. They have especially the unanswerable argument that at the Last Supper the apostles received communion in the form of bread, before our Lord consecrated the chalice. The bread had certainly become his body when he gave it to them to eat. So this view eventually became universal; it is supposed as certain in the present Missal.[3] Eudes de Sully, Bishop of Paris [4] (1196-1208), favoured it strongly. He issued a decree ordering that if wine were found missing it should be supplied at once and the consecration, only from "Simili modo," repeated.[5] He is also the first bishop who ordered our elevation. Priests are not to lift the Host so high as to be seen by the people while they say the words of consecration, but are then to elevate it so that it can be seen.[6] From that time the custom of elevating in this way spreads rapidly. The Cistercians adopted it in 1215,[7] a provincial Synod at Trier in 1227,[8] Walter of Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, in 1240.[9] By the end of the XIIIth century

[1] *de s. altaris mysterio*, iv, 17, 22 (P.L. ccxiv, 868, 872).
[2] *Tablet*, *loc. cit.* 643-645. [3] Rubric, *de defectibus*, iv, 3 etc.
[4] Paris did not become an archbishopric till 1622.
[5] Mansi, xxii, 682 (quoted by Thurston, *Tablet*, *ib.* 644).
[6] In a diocesan Synod held during Eudes' reign (Mansi, *ib.* and Thurston, *ib.*)
[7] Domenico Giorgi: *De liturgia romani pontificis* (Rome, 1744) iii, 74 (Thurston *ib.* 645).
[8] Hartzheim: *Concilia Germaniæ* (Köln, 1760) iii, 527.
[9] Thurston: *loc. cit.* 605.

the elevation of the Host has spread all over the West. The elevation of the chalice followed, but less universally. The difference is apparently caused by the fact that one sees the Blessed Sacrament at the first elevation, but one does not see the consecrated wine at the second. So the Carthusians still have no real elevation of the chalice. The genuflexion of the celebrant before and after each elevation came later. For a long time he merely bowed. Ordo Rom. XIV says: "Let him first adore the sacred divine body, bowing his head, then let him lift it reverently and carefully to be adored by the people and let him then place the adored sacred Host in its place". So for the chalice; he is to "adore the sacred blood of the Lord, bowing his head slightly"; then to elevate. Neither elevation is to be protracted beyond a moment.[1] The rubric of the Sarum missal is: "inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam et postea elevet eam supra frontem ut possit a populo videri".[2] The genuflexion did not become part of the rite, at any rate officially, till it was commanded in the missal of 1570. The Carthusians still only bow profoundly. Meanwhile in the later middle ages popular devotion attached enormous importance to seeing the Blessed Sacrament at the elevation. This became the ritual centre of the Mass. A number of curious examples of this are quoted by Father Thurston.[3] If people had not seen it they thought they had not properly heard Mass and waited for another; they came in for that moment and went out again, boys were let out of school for a moment to see the elevation; there are accounts of disorderly scrambling in church so as to see the Host.[4] John Becon in the Reformation time, attacking the Mass, says that if the celebrant did

[1] Ordo Rom. xiv, 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1166).
[2] Missale Sarum (*ed. cit.* 617).
[3] *Tablet*, *loc. cit.* 684-686 (*Seeing the Host*). [4] *Ib.*

not elevate high enough, "the rude people of the countrey in diverse partes of England will crye out to the priest: houlde up Sir John, houlde up. Heave it a little higher."[1] It was apparently this desire to see the elevation that caused the custom of ringing the bell—at first to call people from without to see it. The server at Low Mass rang a little bell through the low side-window just before the elevation, that people might enter the church in time.[2] The Roman Ordines have nothing about ringing a bell at the elevation; though they contain the notice that Church bells are not to be rung after the Gloria on Maundy Thursday.[3] But Ivo of Chartres († 1115) mentions a bell at the elevation, apparently the great bell of the church.[4] Durandus says "at the elevation of both (kinds) a little bell (squilla) is rung".[5] In the later middle ages there were regularly two—if not three, bells. A middle sized one (Sanctus bell, Sance bell) was rung at the Sanctus. This was hung up, often in a little bell-cote in the roof, so that it could be heard outside, and was rung with a rope which hung down to near the server's place.[6] Then there was a little hand-bell (the sacring-bell) like the ones we still use for the elevation. The Synod of Exeter in 1287 ordered that there should be in every church "campanella deferenda ad infirmos et ad elevationem corporis Christi".[7] Besides this the great bell of the church was to be tolled when the sacred Host was raised, to let those who were in the fields know the moment of the consecration. So in

[1] Becon: *Displaying of the Popish Mass* (Parker Society ed.) iii. 270; Thurston, *ib.*

[2] Thurston, *ib.* 685.

[3] Ordo Rom. X, 1 (P.L. lxxviii, 1009); XIV, 83 (*ib.* 1205).

[4] Ep. 142 (P.L. clxii, 148-149). So also William, I Bishop of Paris (1096-1102). S. Binius: *Concilia gen. et prov.* (Köln, 1618) III, ii, p. 442.

[5] *Rationale* iv, 41, § 53.

[6] See the picture (apparently XIVth cent.) in Rock: *Church of our Fathers* (*ed. cit.* iv, p. 178).

[7] Wilkins: *Concilia* ii, 139; Rock: *op. cit.* iv, p 179.

inventories of churches in Edward VI's reign there are three kinds of bells, the great church bells, the sance bell and the sacring-bell.[1]

Our present reformed Missal determines the ceremony thus: "(the server) rings a little bell with his right hand thrice at each elevation, or continuously until the priest lays the Host on the corporal, and in the same way again at the elevation of the chalice".[2] Gavanti and his editor Merati both prefer the former way and both note that the third ringing should take place, not at the final genuflexion but sooner, when the Host (or chalice) is replaced on the corporal.[3]

Other ringing of the bell grew later out of that at the elevation. I have not found any mediæval writer who mentions the bell at the Sanctus. *Ritus cel.* vii, 8 demands it. Gavanti says that "it is expedient (convenit)" to ring the great church bell at the Sanctus in High Mass, the handbell in Low Mass.[4] Modern books of rubrics all demand the bell at the Sanctus (at least at Low Mass) as is now the law (*Ritus cel.* loc. cit.).[5] These two ringings (at the Sanctus and elevation) are the only ones demanded by the rubrics. An indefinite number of others have grown up, especially in France, where they love the bell. So you may hear it as the celebrant makes the sign of the cross at the beginning, at the offertory, at the Hanc igitur, at "omnis honor et gloria," at "Domine non sum dignus". There is no authority

[1] See Rock: *op. cit.* iv, 178-183. [2] *Ritus celebr. missam*, viii, 6.

[3] Gavanti-Merati: *Thesaurus s. rituum*, II. viii (ed. Venice, 1762, i, p. 163). However modern books of ceremonies approve the usual custom. Le Vavasseur: *Manuel de Liturgie* (Paris, 1910) i, 370, n. 2.

[4] Gavanti, *ib.* II, vii (i, p. 156).

[5] Le Vavasseur, *ib.* i, 370. (He refers to *Ritus cel.* vii, 10, which says nothing about the bell); De Herdt: *S. liturgiæ praxis* (Louvain, 1894) i, 255.

for any of these ;[1] nor does a perpetual tinkling add to the dignity of Mass. Moreover at High Mass no bell at all is required, though its use is tolerated.[2] The singing and obvious ceremonies make the order of the service quite plain without the bell. At Rome itself there is no bell at High Mass. The rubrics of the missal also require that a third candle or torch (intorticium) be lit at Low Mass just before the elevation on the epistle side and remain lighted till after the Communion.[3] This is very rarely done, except by the Dominicans. To incense the Blessed Sacrament at the elevation[4] is a late adornment of that ceremony. It is found first in a Dominican Ordo of the XIIIth cent.[5] In this the deacon incenses the Blessed Sacrament continuously during the elevation. At the same time at Laon two thuribles are swung, right and left of the altar, all the time from the Sanctus till the Communion.[6] No incensing at the elevation is provided in the Köln missal of 1626, nor at Nîmes in 1831 ; it has never been done at Lyons. It was introduced at Rome about the end of the XIVth century.[7]

There is some discussion as to what the faithful are to do at the moment of elevation. As the reason

[1] But the S. Rit. Congr. says that the bell at "Domine non sum dignus" may be tolerated where it is the custom, n. 5224, 9 (14 May, 1856). It is commonly justified as necessary so that people may know when to come for Holy Communion. But we could conceivably instruct our people sufficiently that they could follow the Mass without that. When we hear Confessions we do not ring a bell before giving absolution.

[2] A common custom is (or was) to ring the church bell too at the elevation at High Mass. Gavanti-Merati : *op. cit.* ii, 8 (ed. cit. vol. i, p. 165).

[3] *Ritus cel. miss.* viii, 6.

[4] *Ib.* viii, 8.

[5] Published by Dr. J. Wickham Legg : *Tracts on the Mass* (H. Bradshaw Soc., London, 1904), p. 80.

[6] See Martène : *de antiq. eccl. ritibus*, i, cap. iv, art. xii.

[7] Krazer ; *de apost. necnon ant. eccl. occ. liturgiis* (Augsburg, 1786), p. 509 ; Atchley : *A History of the use of Incense*, pp. 264-266.

of the ceremony is to show them the Blessed Sacrament it seems certainly right to look at it. This was the mediæval practice, as we have seen. Pius X has lately encouraged it by granting an indulgence to all who do so.[1] At the same time we may agree with Fr. Thurston that the other practice, of bowing low, is not wrong.[2]

It is true that this mediæval ceremony of the elevation has tended to become a new centre of gravity for the Mass. It is possible to exaggerate its importance. A rite unknown till the XIIth century cannot be of first importance in any liturgy. We must teach our people that the essence of the Mass is not the elevation, but consecration and communion.[3]

§ 6. To the end of the Canon.

Most liturgies end the words of institution by quoting our Lord's command to do this in memory of him (Lk. xxii, 19; 1 Cor. xi, 23)[4] and all continue with a prayer in the form of an assurance that we do indeed remember him always. This prayer in the

[1] Decree of the Congr. Indulg. June 12, 1907.

[2] *Tablet*, *loc cit.* p. 686.

[3] The elevation has passed from Rome to Milan and the Mozarabic Mass. At Milan the ceremony is exactly like ours, except that the celebrant repeats our Lord's command to do as he had done (in an amplified form: "Mandans quoque," *Missale Ambrosianum*, ed. 1902, p. 177) while he elevates the chalice. The Mozarabic missal says nothing about bowing or genuflecting, only: "Hic elevetur Corpus" etc. Our Lord's command is repeated at each elevation and the chalice is shown covered with the pall (filiola); P.L. lxxxv, 551-552.

[4] Quoted in variant forms in the different rites. Our Roman text is most like the command after the chalice in 1 Cor. xi, 23, but is not exact. Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 37 (Brightman, p. 20), Antioch (*ib.* 52), Alexandria (133) and Byz. Basil (405) put the words of 1 Cor. xi, 26 with an addition ("and confess my resurrection") into our Lord's mouth. Armen. (*ib.* 437) mentions the command in the next prayer; Byz. Chrysostom (386) alone does not quote the command at all.

Greek rites is called the *Anamnesis* (εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν). Our Anamnesis is the *Unde et memores.* The mysteries mentioned vary. All Eastern liturgies name not only the passion and death, but also the resurrection and especially our expectation of the second coming.[1] We have the passion, resurrection and ascension only. At one time other events of our Lord's life (the Nativity) were mentioned too (above p. 134). The Anamnesis thus continues the account of our Lord's life for which the Eucharistic prayer thanks God. The mention of the ascension would lead naturally to that of Pentecost. I do not find the coming of the Holy Ghost mentioned explicitly in any liturgy, but the place it normally would find here no doubt accounts for the reference to the Holy Ghost that introduces the Epiklesis, and accounts for its place as a sequel to the Anamnesis in nearly all rites.[2] Many authors see in the text of the Liber Pontificalis (that Pope Alexander I added a mention of the passion of our Lord to the Mass; above, p. 136) a reference to the words: "tam beatæ passionis" here.[3] But the memory of the passion occurs in the Anamnesis of all rites and seems certainly to belong to the primitive tradition. *De Sacramentis* iv, 6 has almost exactly the same text as this first part of the prayer (see p. 131).

The second part begins at: "offerimus præclaræ maiestati tuæ". So in all rites: "remembering Christ we offer thee this sacrifice". "De tuis donis ac datis". This phrase is not in *de Sacr.* but is common to many liturgies. Alexandria has: "σοὶ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων

[1] See references in Brightman (above).

[2] Cabrol: *Anamnèse* in the *Dict. d'archéologie chrét.* i, 1895; Salaville: *L'Epiclèse dans le canon romain* (*Revue Augustinienne*, 1909, 303-318).

[3] Bona: *Rer. liturg.* ii, 13, § 11 (ed. cit. 445) etc.

προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου,"[1] Byzantine: "τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες,"[2] Armenian: "And we offer unto thee thine own of thine own in all and for all."[3] It may be suggested by 1 Paral. xxix, 14. "Hostiam puram" etc. See the variant in *de Sacr.* p. 131.

The signs of the Cross here and later at the "Per quem hæc omnia" prayer, namely after the words of institution, need cause no difficulty. They are not merely ways of pointing, but are real blessings. As such they again exemplify a common idea. The whole consecration-prayer is one thing, of which the effect is the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. During this prayer we ask continually for that grace; although the prayer takes time to say and God grants what we ask at one instant, not necessarily the last instant of the prayer. So in all rites constantly people still ask for what, presumably, they have already received. Our baptism and ordination services furnish obvious parallel examples. The Epiklesis is surely also to be explained in this way. We may consider these later demands for a blessing on the oblata as dramatic postponements, since the celebrant cannot express everything in one instant. It is still righter to conceive the Canon as one prayer. Consecration is the answer to that one prayer. It takes place no doubt at the words of institution, but it is the effect of the whole prayer. There is no sequence of time with God. He changes the bread and wine "intuitu totius orationis".[4]

[1] Brightman, p. 133. [2] *Ib.* 329. [3] *Ib.* 438.

[4] All the mediæval writers see enormous difficulties in these signs of the cross and in the following prayers asking God to bless, sanctify and accept the sacrifice, after the words of Consecration; they find very curious mystic explanations. The favourite idea was that the crosses are not blessings but symbols of the Holy Trinity, of the five wounds and so on. And the prayers only mean that we are diffident whether God will accept this sacrifice from us who are so great sinners. All of which is a most superfluous twisting of the real idea. A number

The prayer *Supra quæ* breaks the usual sequence of ideas in this place. Generally the Invocation of the Holy Ghost follows the anamnesis at once. The connection is thus: We, remembering our Lord's passion, death, resurrection etc., offer to God these gifts and beg him to send down his Holy Spirit and to change them into the body and blood of Christ.[1] Here we have instead a prayer that he may receive them as he received other sacrifices in the Old Law. The place of this prayer need not detain us now, nor need we seek mystic reasons why it should come here. We come to the root of the dislocation of the Canon. We have seen various explanations why the dislocation took place (especially Buchwald, p. 152 and Drews, p. 164). Whatever explanation may be preferred, it seems certain that here we have a text rearranged later, probably only fragmentary. Nor need this trouble the priest who celebrates. If we remember always that the whole Canon is one prayer, it matters very little (except to the archæologist) in what order its parts come.

After innumerable theories and suggested explanations of these two prayers, *Supra quæ* and *Supplices*, perhaps all one can say finally is that they represent, as they stand, part of a later rearrangement of the Canon. We have already noticed that in *de Sacramentis* the clauses of these prayers appear in a different order (p. 131). One of the many remarkable things about them is that we find very close parallels to their phrases in other rites in various parts of the liturgy. Both prayers seem to be fragments of very early forms,

of such interpretations will be found in Hoppe: *Die Epiklese* (Schaffhausen, 1864) pp. 98-116. Many other forms of the anamnesis are quoted by Abbot Cabrol in the article of the *Dict. d'archéologie* (above).

[1] E. gr. Ap. Const. VIII, xii, 38-39 (Brightman, pp. 20-21); Antioch (*ib.* 52-53); Alexandria (133-134); Byzantine (328-329).

though they were apparently placed in their present position later, at the rearrangement of the Roman Canon. *Supra quæ* is a prayer that God may receive this sacrifice, as he received the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, Melkisedek. "Propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris" is a common formula in all such prayers. So Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 39: "ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς".[1] The allusion to the other sacrifices is almost universal. In the first part of the Anaphora (Preface) of Apost. Const. we find "the righteous Abel ("τοῦ μὲν Ἄβὲλ ὡς ὁσίου," cfr. Mt. xxiii, 35), Abraham and "Melkisedek the high priest".[2] In the Liturgy of St. James the prayer of the incense before the Little Entrance begins: "O God who didst receive the gifts of Abel, the sacrifice of Noe and Abraham, and the incense of Aaron and Zachary".[3] The same idea recurs at the blessing of the incense at the Great Entrance[4] and again in the Prayers of the Faithful before the Anaphora.[5] Alexandria has a most striking parallel, also at a blessing of incense, after the diptychs of the dead: "as thou didst receive the gifts of thy righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our father Abraham, the incense of Zachary, the alms of Cornelius and the two mites of the widow".[6] Buchwald thinks that our prayer is derived from this, with necessary modifications. The incense of Zachary and the alms of the Centurion and the widow were no longer apt parallels when the prayer (as in *de Sacram.*) was used for the essential (Eucharistic) Sacrifice; so they were left out and, instead, the obvious precedent of Melkisedek was added.[7] Salaville rejects this idea, since such similar forms occur

[1] Brightman, p. 21. So also Alexandria before the Anaphora (*ib.* 124).

[2] Ap. Const. viii, xii, 21-23 (*ib.* 17). But the context here is hardly a real parallel. [3] *Ib.* 32. [4] *Ib.* 41. [5] *Ib.* 48.

[6] *Ib.* 129. [7] *Die Epiklese*, p. 42.

at Antioch too.[1] The Byzantine rite of St. Basil repeats the ideas of the Antiochene prayer and the allusions to Abel, Noe, Abraham etc, just before the kiss of peace and Anaphora.[2] We notice the usual connection of the allusions with blessing incense. The last words "Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam" are not in *de Sacramentis*. They occur first in the Gelasian Sacramentary.[3] We have seen that the Liber Pontificalis ascribes them to St. Leo I and that they are supposed to be directed against Manichees, who denied the holiness of all matter and so of a material sacrifice (p. 137). In any case, as they stand, they refer to that of Melkisedek, not to the present Mass.

The second prayer (*Supplices te rogamus*) is full of difficulties. We find again parallel forms in various places in other rites. The assumption of the sacrifice on the high (or heavenly) altar of God is an idea that recurs constantly. So Ap. Const. VIII, xiii, 3 in the deacon's litany at the end of the Anaphora (before the elevation and Communion): "that the good God may receive it by the ministry of his Christ on his heavenly altar for an odour of sweetness".[4] So also Antioch at the blessing of incense before the Gospel: "on thy holy and heavenly altar for an odour of sweetness,"[5] again at the prayer of the Great Entrance,[6] in the Anaphora[7] and before the Lord's prayer.[8] Egypt too has continual references to the "*ἐπουράνιον θυσιαστήριον*,"[9] and the Byzantine rite.[10]

"Per manus sancti angeli tui"[11] is a well-known

[1] *A propos de l'Epiclèse* in the *Revue Augustinienne*, 15 May, 1909, pp. 546-568.

[2] Brightman, p. 320. [3] Ed. Wilson, p. 235.

[4] Brightman, *op. cit.* 23. [5] *Ib.* 36. [6] *Ib.* 41. [7] *Ib.* 47.

[8] *Ib.* 58. [9] *Ib.* 115, 118, 122, 123-124 etc.

[10] *Ib.* 309, 360, 319 etc.

[11] The Gelasian (p. 235) and Gregorian (P.L. lxxviii, 27) books omit "sancti".

crux. Who is the angel? A number of mediæval liturgists understand it as our Lord himself, the "angel of great counsel" (Is. ix, 6 in the LXX and Itala, as the Introit for the third Christmas Mass);[1] they are followed by many modern writers.[2] Others, moved by the idea of the Epiklesis at this place, say it is the Holy Ghost, who is sent (*ἀγγέλλεται*) by the Father and Son.[3] Neither interpretation seems historically possible. The convincing argument against them is that there are obvious parallel texts in which only angels in the usual sense can be understood. So in the Alexandrine rite the parallel prayer before the Anaphora, already quoted, asks God to receive the oblation "by angelic ministry" (*δι' ἀγγελικῆς λειτουργίας*);[4] again, where it refers to the "heavenly altar," Abel, Abraham, etc., we find "thy archangelic ministry".[5] The Coptic (St. Cyril) liturgy has: "Receive upon thy reasonable altar in heaven for a sweet-smelling savour, into thy vastnesses in heaven, through the ministry of thy holy angels and archangels, like as thou didst accept the gifts of righteous Abel and the sacrifice of our Father Abraham and the two mites of the widow".[6] It is impossible not to see that this is derived from the same source as our prayers (in the *de Sacr.* form the resemblance is exact, almost a translation) and here again we have "angels". And lastly, to clinch the matter, the older form of these prayers in *de Sacramentis* (above p. 131) has: "per manus angelorum tuorum". So whatever meanings later writers may

[1] Ivo of Chartres: *de eccl. sacr. et offic.* Sermo V (P.L. clxii, 557). Honorius of Autun: *Gemma animæ*, i, 106 (P.L. clxxii, 579), St. Bonaventure: *Expos. missæ*, cap. iv; St. Thomas Aquinas (*Sum. Theol.* P. iii, qu. 83, art. 4, ad 9) and Durandus (*Rationale*, iv, 44, § 9) admit this as a possible explanation, among others.

[2] Le Brun: *Explication . . . de la messe* iv, art. 13 (vol. i, p. 445); Fluck: *Kathol. Liturgik* (Regensburg, 1853) i, 184.

[3] So especially Hoppe: *Die Epiklesis*, 167-191.

[4] Brightman, p. 124. [5] *Ib.* 129. [6] *Ib.* 171.

have read into the word, there can be, surely, no doubt that originally the "sanctus angelus tuus" was simply an angel of God, not specified.[1] The second half of this prayer: "ut quotquot . . ." is simply a petition for the graces of Communion. It is missing in *de Sacramentis*, but occurs in variant forms in early Sacramentaries.[2] It does not well fit the former part, where the idea is different (the taking of the gifts up to God, instead of the contrary motion of his grace to us). There seems reason in Buchwald's idea that this part was tacked on at a later rearrangement, that the clause: "ex hac altaris participatione" was inserted to join it (although awkwardly; the altar is not the same as the "sublime altare") to the former part.[3] The ending: "Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen" interrupts the unity of the Canon and seems to be again an insertion added at the rearrangement, to close this prayer before the now irrelevant continuation in the Memento of the dead.

These two prayers, especially the second, have caused enormous difficulty to commentators. Many did not even attempt to explain them. Florus Diaconus frankly gives it up: "Who can understand these words of mystery so deep, so wonderful, so stupendous? They

[1] Many mediæval writers saw this and discussed who the angel might be. Dionysius Cartus. (*in Apoc.* Enar. viii, 9) thinks it is St. Michael, Hildebert of Tours († c. 1134: *de mysterio missæ;* P.L. clxxi, 1188) supposes the celebrant's guardian angel, J. Clichtove (*Elucidatorium Eccles.* Paris, 1516, p. 135) that it is a collective singular, for "angels". A still more curious idea is that the "angelus" is the celebrant (Durandus: *Rationale*, iv, 44, § 9). St. Thomas Aquinas sees the real explanation (below, p. 354) that it is the angel in Apoc. viii, 4 (*Sum. Theol.* iii, qu. lxxxiii, art. 4, ad 9). In the *Or. Christ.*, iii (1903), p. 67, is a text by Anastasius of Sinai (VII cent.), which shows how familiar was the idea of angels carrying the sacrifice up to God (they are seen doing so in a dream).

[2] Stowe missal (IX cent.); F. E. Warren: *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), p. 237. Biasca Sacram. (IX cent.); M. Ceriani: *Notitia liturgiæ ambros. ante sæc. xi medium* (Milan, 1895), p. 10. [3] Buchwald: *die Epiklese*, p. 54.

should be rather reverenced and feared than discussed."[1] Cardinal Bellarmin too is very frank: "We admit that it would be most absurd to say that the body of Christ should now first be taken bodily into heaven by angels";[2] and he tries to evade the difficulty by explaining the "hæc" that are to be taken to God's high altar as our prayers. That is not possible. "Hæc" are certainly the oblata. And it is perhaps not so impossible to account for the origin of these two prayers. The fact that we ask God to let the offering be carried up to his heavenly altar after the Consecration need cause no difficulty. It is explained as are the blessings of the oblata after the Consecration (p. 347). If we remember always that the whole Canon is one prayer, asking (as the Church generally does) repeatedly for one thing, it matters very little in what order these repeated petitions come. God answers that one prayer by changing the bread and wine into the body and blood of our Lord and, no doubt, he does so (according to our idea of time) before the whole prayer has been spoken.[3]

For the rest it is not difficult to find foundations in Scripture for the ideas of both these prayers. The root of them is the petition that our offering may be carried up to the heavenly altar by an angel; this is more clear in the text of *de Sacramentis* (p. 131) where the two are still woven together. We have noticed the regular connection of the prayers with incense in

[1] *de exposit. Missæ*, 66 (P.L. cxix, 58).

[2] *Disputationes de controversiis christianæ fidei*, lib. iii, cap. 24 (de Missa), ob. 11 (ed. Rome, 1838, vol. iii, p. 805).

[3] Our baptism service is the obvious parallel case. All through it we ask God to give the child the graces which, as a matter of fact, he gives at once at the moment at which the essential matter and form are complete. So the Ordination rite dramatically separates the elements of the priesthood (power of sacrificing, of forgiving sins) which, presumably, are really conferred at one moment, when the man becomes a priest. In all such cases we say that at whatever moment of our time God gives the Sacramental grace, he gives it in answer to the whole prayer or group of prayers, which, of course, take time to say.

the parallel, presumably older, Eastern forms (p. 350). In this light we see the obvious suggestion of the idea in Apoc. viii, 3-4: "And another angel came and stood before the altar, having a golden thurible; and much incense was given to him, that he should offer of the prayers of all Saints on the golden altar which is before the throne of God. And the smoke of incense went up from the prayers of the Saints, from the hand of the angel before God." So also in Gen. viii, 20-21 God smelt the odour of sweetness in Noe's sacrifice. In Deut. xxvi, 15 we find the prayer: "Look down from thy holy place and from thy high dwelling in heaven". In Gen. iv, 4 "the Lord looked down upon Abel and upon his gifts" etc. The early Fathers quoted these texts and applied them to the Christian liturgy.[1] We may conclude then that our *Supra quæ* and *Supplices* prayers contain very old and practically universal forms, rearranged later. The essential root of these prayers is a petition originally made in connection with incense. This was adapted in the Roman rite to fit the offering of the Blessed Sacrament itself in the Canon (so the *de Sacram.* form) and later rearranged into two prayers with the addition of a general petition for Communion ("ut quotquot" etc.), probably when the Epiklesis disappeared from this place and the Canon was recast.

The *Commemoratio pro defunctis* follows abruptly, with no connection with what has gone before. It is simply the continuation of the Intercession, which we left unfinished after the *Communicantes.* It seems impossible to doubt that originally it followed that prayer, as in all other rites the memory of the dead follows that of the living. The word "etiam" implies that it once followed the other commemoration. Its

[1] Irenæus: *Hær.* IV, xviii, 3, 6 ("There is therefore an altar in heaven to which our prayers and offerings are directed") etc.

place here seems again a plain witness of a dislocation of the Canon.

In some forms of the Gelasian Sacramentary [1] this prayer is missing. Its place in the Canon has often changed (see Ebner: *Missale Rom.* p. 420). Its expressions are singularly beautiful, redolent of inscriptions in catacombs.[2] The clause: "N. et N." is now always omitted. The people for whom we pray are named after "in somno pacis," as the rubric directs. But as late as the XVIth century names were sometimes read out at the place "N. et N." [3]

The list of Saints in *Nobis quoque* seems puzzling. We have already had such a list in *Communicantes.* To continue our prayer for the dead by asking that we too may come to the blessed company of the Saints is common to most liturgies. So St. James after the memory of the dead: "But for us, O Lord, Lord, direct Christian and well-pleasing and sinless ends of our lives in peace, gathering us under the feet of thine elect, when thou wilt and as thou wilt, only without shame or sins." [4] St. Mark has almost the same prayer: "Rest their souls and grant them the kingdom of heaven, but to us vouchsafe Christian and well-pleasing and sinless ends of our lives and give us a share and a part with all thy Saints". [5] These echo the ideas of our *Nobis quoque* prayer very nearly. It is also natural to name some of the Saints in whose company we pray to be admitted. The Byzantine rite names

[1] Vatican MS. Reginæ 316, Sangallensis; Rhenaugiensis has it (ed. Wilson, p. 235, and note 62, p. 239).

[2] Gihr has collected parallel inscriptions in his *hl. Messopfer*, 626-631.

[3] Benedict XIV: *de sacr. Missæ Sacr.* ii, 17, 4 (p. 220). We bow the head at the end of this prayer, a unique case, for which no satisfactory explanation has been found. Benedict XIV (*ib.* 219) gives a mystic reason: our Lord bowed his head when he died and here we remember the dead.

[4] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 57. [5] *Ib.* 129.

our Lady, St. John the Baptist, the Apostles and the Saint of the day at the diptychs of the departed.[1] It seems that there was some uncertainty about the order of the Commemoration. In all rites the celebrant prays for the living and the dead and remembers the Saints. But the order in which these three elements of the Intercession follow one another varies. The Saints may be joined almost equally well to either diptych. Rome joins Saints to both. We have seen that the *Breviarium in psalmos*, attributed to St. Jerome, refers to this prayer (p. 134). The names of the Saints here are arranged in a scheme, as at the *Communicantes*. First comes St. John (as our Lady in the other list); then seven men and seven women. There is evidently an intention of not repeating the names already mentioned, but of supplementing the former list. "Cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus" seems a general allusion to the other list. Who is the John here named? The Congregation of Rites declared it to be John the Baptist on March 27, 1824; in 1898 it changed its mind and withdrew its declaration. Several writers think it is the Evangelist.[2] But it must be the Baptist. St. John the Evangelist has already been named in the *Communicantes* and this list repeats no names, not even our Lady. On the other hand the omission of the Baptist before is an obvious fault to be made good, like the omission of St. Matthias. Other rites have the Baptist here;[3] and

[1] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 331. In this rite the dead are named before the living. The Armenians have a long list of Saints after the diptychs of the dead and then pray for the living; *ib.* 441-442. The Mozarabic rite prays for the living, remembers the Saints, prays for the dead (P.L. lxxxv, 541-545).

[2] Baumstark: *Liturgia romana*, pp. 144-145 is very sure, but his reasons do not amount to much. Semeria (*La Messa*, p. 198) follows him.

[3] Byzantine (above) etc.

the best authorities declare for him.[1] St. Stephen follows as the first martyr, again an unaccountable omission in the former list, and St. Matthias and St. Barnabas, left out from the Apostles before. Ignatius of Antioch, Pope Alexander I (109-119), Marcellinus a priest, and Peter, an exorcist martyred at Silva Candida under Diocletian[2] make up the list of men. The women are all well known.[3] All Saints here are martyrs, all are either Romans or popular Saints at Rome.

In the middle ages local additions were made to this list too.[4] Benedict XIV quotes a late tradition that St. Gregory I, having noticed that no women Saints were named in the Canon, added these here.[5] The celebrant raises his voice (and strikes his breast) at: "Nobis quoque". Durandus knows this.[6] It is merely a mediæval remedy for the silent Canon. He reminds the people that he has come to the prayer for them, in which they should join. Whatever conclusion we may draw from the likeness, the parallel between this prayer and the second half of *Hanc igitur*, noticed by Drews (above p. 160) is undeniable. The ending: "Per Christum Dominum nostrum" after *Nobis quoque* would naturally close the Canon. But instead of the "Amen" we should expect, we have a very difficult final passage: *Per quem hæc omnia* etc. It has no relation to what precedes; and what are the "hæc omnia"? It is a strange way of referring to the Blessed Sacrament. Mgr. Duchesne's explanation is well

[1] Walafrid Strabo: *de. eccl. rer. exord.* xxii (P.L. cxiv, 949); Bona: *Rerum liturg.* ii. 14, 5 (p. 455); Benedict XIV: *op. cit.* ii, 18, 5 (p. 222); Gihr: *das h. Messopfer*, p. 635.

[2] For St. Marcellinus and St. Peter, see the 2nd lesson on their feast (June 2) in the breviary.

[3] There are earlier arrangements of the names of the women, slightly different. St. Aldhelm († 709) quotes: "Felicitate, Anastasia, Agatha, Lucia" (*de laud. virg.* 42; P.L. lxxxix, 142). Cfr. the Stowe and Bobbio missals, and the present Ambrosian Canon (G. Morin: *Rev. Bén.* xxvii, 1910, pp. 513-515).

[4] Bona, *loc. cit.*, and Benedict XIV (*ib.*).

[5] *Ib.* ii, 12, 13 (p. 162). [6] *Rationale*, iv, 46, § 1.

known and is generally accepted, as far as it goes Namely, once a blessing of the fruits of the earth stood here. The Leonine Sacramentary has a blessing of water, honey and milk (to be drunk by the neophytes) at this place in the first Mass of Whitsunday.[1] There were similar blessings of beans on Ascension-day[2] and of grapes on St. Sixtus' feast (6 Aug.).[3] We still have the blessing of holy oils at this place on Maundy Thursday. So Duchesne says that once, no doubt, a blessing of fruits of the earth took place here at every Mass. When it disappeared the prayer remained and was understood of the Holy Eucharist itself.[4] So far so good; but is that blessing of fruits the origin of the whole ceremony? Buchwald points out that there should be some reason for the introduction of this rather irrelevant blessing in the Canon. Moreover, both the Leonine and the Gelasian blessings quoted. begin: "Benedic Domine *et* has tuas creaturas (or fruges)". Clearly something else has just been blessed. He thinks then that this is the place of the old Invocation of the Logos, which he maintains to have once existed at Rome (see below p. 407). It was here that Christ was invoked to sanctify the oblata. The later Invocation of the Holy Ghost left no meaning in the Logos-Epiklesis; so it remained a mere remnant, till the word "creaturas" suggested the blessing of other things. For he thinks the original form to have been: "Benedic Domine has creaturas

[1] Ed. Feltoe, p. 25.

[2] Gelasian (ed. Wilson, p. 107); Muratori: *Liturgia rom. vetus*, i, 588: "In ascensa Dni. Seq. benedictio. Benedic Dne et has fruges novas fabæ . . . in nomine D.N.I. Chr. per quem hæc omnia Dne semper bona creas," etc. Cfr. *ib.* i, 746. So the *Liber Pont.* says that Pope Eutychian (275-283) "ordered that only fruits of beans and grapes be blessed on the altar" (ed. Duchesne, i, p. 159).

[3] VIII id. aug. Natale S. Xysti Ep.: "Benedictio uvæ. Benedic Dne et hos fructus novos" etc. (Muratori, *op. cit.* ii, 109).

[4] *Origines du Culte*, 174-175. Card. Bona had already suggested this: *Rerum Lit.* ii, 14, 5 (p. 455).

panis et vini in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem hæc omnia semper bona creas (cfr. Ioh. i, 3) etc. Finally at the last redaction of the Canon, when all Invocation was suppressed, nothing was left of this one but its last clause.[1] It is true that others[2] deny the basis of the whole theory, namely that there ever was a Logos-Epiklesis at Rome. In any case we may accept Duchesne's explanation. The signs of the cross (not in Gelas.) are obviously attracted by the words: "Sanctificas" etc. The final doxology: "per ipsum" etc. makes a very splendid end to the Canon, suggested by Rom. xi, 36.[3]

During this doxology we have our second elevation, corresponding to the elevation before Communion with the words: "Sancta Sanctis" in other rites (p. 338). It is not quite where we should expect to find it. The normal place of this elevation is immediately before the fraction which precedes the Communion.[4] In the Roman Mass it is separated from the fraction by the Lord's prayer and that again is separated from the Communion by the Kiss of Peace. Nor have we the almost invariable formula "Sancta sanctis" at this elevation. There is no evidence that Rome ever had this exclamation. It was used in the Gallican and is still in the Mozarabic rite.[5] It seems probable that so universal a custom existed once at Rome too and disappeared in the rearrangement of this part of the Mass. We shall see that the Kiss of Peace has been moved to its present place (p. 371) and the Pater noster advanced to where it now stands. This seems to have pushed back the

[1] Buchwald: *die Epiklese*, p. 51.

[2] So Dr. Salaville: *L'Épiclèse dans le canon romain* (Revue august. 15 March, 1909, pp. 303-318).

[3] The Mozarabic Mass has the formula "valde bona creas, sanctificas" etc., just before the fraction. P.L. lxxxv, 117, 554.

[4] See references to other rites, p. 338, n. 1.

[5] Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 212; P.L. lxxxv, 561.

elevation till it coincided with the doxology at the end of the Canon, which text certainly suits it well enough, though "est tibi . . . omnis honor et gloria" suggests lifting the holy things to God rather than showing them to the people. The elevation here accounts for the signs of the cross with the Host that precede it. The triple form "per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso" suggested a blessing naturally; the celebrant blesses with the Host simply because he has already taken it in his hand for the elevation; just as later he makes the sign of the cross with the paten which he has already picked up. The last words: "Per omnia sæcula sæculorum" are sung aloud, forming the ekphonesis as a warning before the Lord's prayer. The answer, Amen ends the Canon.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMMUNION.

§ 1. The Lord's Prayer.

THERE is a difficulty about the place of the Pater noster. On the one hand we know that Africa had the Lord's prayer just where we have it now, after the Canon and before the Pax.[1] This is one of the points in which Africa is supposed to follow Roman use. One would say then that its present place is the original one at Rome. On the other hand, St. Gregory I seems to say plainly that it once came after the Communion and that he moved it to where it now comes (p. 362). As regards the Lord's prayer in general we note first that it occurs in every extant liturgy. It was inevitable that this most sacred of all prayers should be said at the chief service of Christendom. The "Church Orders"[2] do not mention it; but it may no doubt be supposed in them too.[3] *Test Dni* gives a paraphrase of it, to be said after Communion.[4] The place of the prayer in the East is always just before the elevation and fraction;[5] in the Gallican, Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites it follows the fraction.[6] In all rites then it comes at the end of the Eucharistic prayer, adding to that the sanctity of our Lord's own prayer, joining it to the Communion. St. Gregory I

[1] St. Augustine: Sermo vi (P.L. xlvi, 836).
[2] Eth. Ch. Ord., Test. Dni, Ap. Const. VIII. See above, p. 68.
[3] Woolley: *Lit. of Prim. Ch.* 131.
[4] Cooper and Maclean, ed. p. 76.
[5] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, Antioch, 60, 100; Egypt and Abyssinia, 136, 182, 234; Nestorian, 295; Byzantine, 339; Armenian, 446.
[6] Duchesne: *Origines*, 211; P.L. lxxxv, 559.

makes it clear that he considers it as following (not part of) the Canon; so we may count it as the first element of the Communion act. In all Eastern and in the Paris rites it is said by the people.[1] The present Mozarabic Mass represents a medium. The celebrant says it and the people answer Amen to each clause.[2] At Rome and now at Milan (under Roman influence) the celebrant says it and the people sing only the last petition. It is universal, on account of the special dignity of this prayer, to introduce it by a clause begging God to allow us to say it, generally referring to the fact that our Lord taught it to us and to conclude it by an expansion of its last clause, praying him to deliver us indeed from all manner of evil.[3] The expansion at the end is the *Embolism* (ἐμβολισμός, interpolation) of the Lord's prayer. The Roman rite has very beautiful forms of both.

The difficulty about its place in our rite is caused by a passage in the letter of St. Gregory I to John of Syracuse, already quoted in connection with Kyrie eleison (p. 234) and Alleluia (p. 268). Several difficulties arise from his words: "We say the Lord's prayer immediately after the Canon (mox post precem) because it was the custom of the apostles to consecrate the offering of the sacrifice (oblationis hostiam) by this (?) prayer alone (ad ipsam solummodo orationem), and it seemed very unseemly to me that we should say the prayer which some scholar (scholasticus) had composed over the oblation and that we should not say the very tradition which our Redeemer composed over his body and blood" [4]

[1] Brightman, *loc. cit.* [2] P.L. lxxxv, 559.

[3] See places quoted. The Abyssinian "Anaphora of the Apostles" has the Our Father interpolated into a prayer, which thus artificially becomes its introduction and embolism (Brightman, p. 234).

[4] Ep. ix, 12 (P.L. lxxvii, 957), John the deacon refers to the same thing: "He (Gregory) determined that the Lord's prayer be said after the Canon over the host" (*Vita Greg.*, ii, 20; P.L. lxxv, 94).

St. Gregory then contrasts our Lord's own prayer with the prayer (Canon) composed by "scholasticus". Some writers have thought that this is a proper name and have sought in this passage a clue to the author of the Canon, even understanding "scholasticus" as referring to Sarapion of Thmuis, who is so called by St. Jerome (*de vir. illustr.* 99).[1] It seems clear that Gregory means simply "some learned man". Next comes the question whether he meant that the Apostles consecrated by the Lord's prayer only. Amalarius of Metz seems to think he did.[2] It certainly seems so: "ad ipsam solummodo orationem" seems to refer plainly enough to "oratio dominica" just before. Duchesne[3] and most writers admit this as a curious mistake of the great Pope. But Probst denies it and sees in "ipsa oratio" an allusion to the Canon: he says that when Gregory means the Lord's prayer he always adds "dominica".[4] Mgr. Batiffol joins him and is quite indignant with people who see otherwise.[5] We may notice as a curiosity that the late Dr. Schell took up this idea that the original consecration form was the Our Father and defended it, not only from Gregory's letter but from Justin Martyr and the Didache.[6] What chiefly concerns us here is the light Gregory's words throw on the position of the Lord's prayer. It seems clear that before his time it was not said over the Blessed Sacrament (therefore after the Communion), that he moved it to its present place (mox post precem) for the reason he gives. In spite then of St. Augustine's witness for Africa we must admit this. It also

[1] See Benedict XIV; *de ss. Missæ Sacrif.* II, xii, 3-5 (*ed. cit.*, p. 157).
[2] *De eccl. offic.* iv, 26 (P.L. cv, 1210). [3] *Origines*, p. 176, n. 1.
[4] *Liturgie der 3 ersten Jahrh.*, p. 356.
[5] In a letter to the *Guardian*, 15 Dec., 1909.
[6] *Katholische Dogmatik* (Paderborn, 1893), iii, 2, p. 543.

accounts for a dislocation of the connection between elevation and fraction.

Our introduction to the Lord's prayer ("præceptis salutaribus") has an echo in St. Augustine: "audemus quotidie dicere: adveniat regnum tuum".[1] Most Eastern rites have an Embolism with the same idea as ours, expanding the last clause "But deliver us from evil".[2] But the Byzantine liturgy has only the well-known addition (in some versions of Mt. vi, 13): "for thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory" with a Trinitarian ending.[3] The Gallican, Mozarabic and Milanese Masses have forms very much like our: "Libera nos quæsumus". These are always sung aloud,[4] as in the Roman rite on Good Friday. The names of the Saints here mentioned naturally vary. We have our Lady, Peter, Paul and Andrew. Some Gelasian MSS. omit Andrew.[5] He is named apparently as being from some points of view the next chief Apostle, the first called, Peter's brother who brought him to our Lord (Ioh. 1, 40-42). At Milan they add St. Ambrose. In the middle ages the celebrant was expressly allowed to add any Saints he liked here.[6]

§ 2. Fraction, Commixture, Fermentum.

Our Lord at the Last Supper took bread and *broke* it.[7] So in all liturgies the consecrated bread is broken

[1] Sermo cx, 5 (P.L. xxxviii, 641). The older Roman form was: "Divino magisterio edocti et divina instructione audemus dicere". Cfr. Wilson: *The Gelasian Sacr.*, p. 239, n. 72; cfr. also the Stowe missal (F. E. Warren: *Lit. and rit. of Celtic Ch.*, p. 242). The Gallican and Mozarabic rites have variable introductions, for the day.

[2] Antioch, Brightman, p. 60; Alexandria, p. 136; Nestorian, p. 182; Armenian, p. 446.

[3] *Ib.* 339-340. [4] Duchesne, *op. cit.*, 211; P.L. lxxxv, 559-560.

[5] Wilson ed. p. 240, n. 79.

[6] Ordo Rom. IV (P.L. lxxvii, 984); Micrologus, c. 13 (P.L. cli, 985-986); Honorius: *Gemma animæ*, i, 109 (P.L. clxxii, 581).

[7] Mt. xxvi, 26; Mk. xiv, 22; Lk. xxii, 19; 1 Cor. xi, 23; cfr. x, 16.

before its distribution. This is quite a primitive and always an important detail of the Eucharistic service. The Didache refers to the bread as "the broken thing (*τὸ κλάσμα*)".[1] It was also necessary, when one loaf was consecrated from which all received a portion.[2] "Breaking of bread (fractio panis)" was even one of the many names of the whole service (p. 398). St. Augustine mentions the fraction in Africa,[3] Gregory of Tours in Gaul.[4] All Eastern rites have a fraction after their elevation, just before the Communion.[5] The elaborate preparation of the gifts before the liturgy begins (Proskomide), which spread from Constantinople to other Eastern rites, contains a complicated fraction then,[6] but they keep the old breaking of bread before Communion as well. The arrangement of the four particles on the diskos (paten) is determined with a symbolic meaning.[7] Much more elaborate was the Gallican fraction, still kept in the Mozarabic rite. It took place, as we have seen (p. 361) before the Pater noster. The original idea was to arrange the fragments in the form of a cross.[8] Then they were arranged in exact order, each representing a mystery of our Lord's life.[9] Mgr. Duchesne says truly that "a

[1] Did. ix, 3.

[2] This was certainly the old custom in all rites. It expressed better the union of the common Communion act, cfr. 1 Cor. x, 17; Did. ix, 4. "Nothing then could be more natural than that, in the earliest form of the liturgy, the breaking of the bread should have been regarded as the climax of the ritual employed, and should have been for the early Christians what the elevation in the Mass is nowadays for us." Thurston: *Fractio panis*, in the *Cath. Encyclopædia*, vi, 165. Cfr. J. Wilpert: *Fractio panis, die älteste Darstellung des euch. Opfers in der Cappella greca* (Freiburg, Herder, 1895).

[3] Ep. xxxvi, 28 (P.L. xxxiii, 149).

[4] *Lib. mirac.* i, 87 (P.L. lxxi, 782).

[5] Brightman; Antioch, p. 62, Alexandria, p. 138 etc.

[6] Fortescue: *Liturgy of St. John Chrys.* (C.T.S. 1908) 46-53.

[7] Brightman, p. 393.

[8] So the Synod of Tours in 567, Can. 3 (Hefele-Leclerq: *Hist. des Conciles*, iii, 185).

[9] The figure may be seen in Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 209 and in P.L. lxxxv, 118.

certain dose of superstition was introduced early in this rite".[1] Milan has adopted the Roman fraction, except that it is done before the Lord's prayer. Meanwhile in the Gallican and Milanese rites a special (variable) antiphon is sung, the *Confractorium.* In Spain this is now replaced by the Creed on Sundays and feasts.

Connected with the breaking is the *mixture*, in which part of the consecrated bread is dipped into the consecrated wine. This too is a very old and widely-spread custom. It is not easy to account for its origin. Maybe it is a relic of a common way of mixing bread and wine at meals, as our Lord did at the Last Supper (Ioh. xiii, 26). We may also note in this connection the usual Eastern practice of giving Communion thus, by the one kind dipped in the other. All Eastern rites mix after the fraction; in some cases (Abyssinian) it is done by the priest dipping his finger in the consecrated wine and sprinkling the host.[2] The Gallican [3] and Mozarabic [4] mixture is separated from the fraction by the Pater noster; but at Milan it follows at once.

The old Roman rite (as in Ordo Rom. I, II, III,) of fraction and mixture was very complicated; our present practice is only a fragment of it. At the end of the Embolism of the Lord's prayer the archdeacon held the chalice before the Pope and he put into it the *Sancta.* The Sancta were a particle consecrated at a former Mass and reserved till now: the Pope had saluted it at the beginning of Mass (above p. 175). He made three signs of the cross over the chalice and put the Sancta into it at the words: "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum".[5] This ceremony was meant to emphasize the unity of the sacrifice, to make, as it were,

[1] Duchesne, *ib.* [2] See places quoted in Brightman.
[3] Duchesne, *loc. cit.* 211. [4] P.L. lxxxv, 560.
[5] Ordo Rom. I, 18 (P.L. lxxviii, 945); II, 12 (*ib.* 975); in Ordo Rom. III, 16 (*ib.* 981) he says the words of the second commixture: "Fiat commixtio" etc., here.

a continuation from one Mass to the next. The fraction of the bread consecrated at this Mass follows. The Pope at the altar takes a loaf, breaks off part of it, on the right, and leaves the fragment on the altar "ut dum missarum solemnia peraguntur altare sine sacrificio non sit." [1] He goes to his throne. Subdeacons carry the consecrated bread in little bags (saccula) to the assisting bishops, priests and deacons, who break their loaves at the altar. A second deacon (diaconus minor) takes the paten with the Host to the Pope and gives him Communion. Then comes the mixture of the species consecrated at the present Mass. The Pope takes a fragment of the Host from which he has communicated, makes the sign of the cross with it thrice over the chalice held by the archdeacon, saying: "Fiat commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis D.N.I.C. accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam. Amen. Pax tecum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo" and puts it into the chalice. [2] Then he receives Communion in the form of wine ("confirmatur") from the archdeacon. So there were two distinct commixtures, first of the Sancta at the Pax, secondly of the newly consecrated species at the Communion. Amalarius of Metz (IXth cent.) mentions the two. [3] Soon after his time the rite of the Sancta disappeared,[4] leaving only the second commixture, as we have it now. The XIVth Roman Ordo (XIVth cent.) shows us just our present practice.[5]

The *Fermentum* was similar to the Sancta. There has been much discussion about it in the past; but now its nature and meaning may be considered established.

[1] Ordo Rom. I, 19 (P.L. lxxviii, 946).

[2] *Ib.* "ponit inter manus archidiaconi in calicem," see note 1, and Atchley: *Ordo Rom. prim.* p. 140.

[3] *De eccl. offic.* iii, 31 (P.L. cv, 1152).

[4] Gihr thinks about the IXth century (*das h. Messopfer*, p. 664, n. 3).

[5] 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1168).

From about the IVth century down to about the Xth we hear constantly that Popes and other bishops sent something called fermentum to their priests. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, writing in the IXth century says that Pope Melchiades (311-314) "ordered that oblations from the consecration by the bishop should be sent to the churches, which is called the fermentum."[1] The Liber Pontificalis (possibly arranged by him) repeats the same statement.[2] Anastasius is late and not always a very trustworthy witness; but we have a contemporary reference in the letter of Innocent I (401-417) to Decentius of Eugubium, already quoted for other liturgical matters (pp. 132-133). He says that the fermentum is taken by acolytes on Sunday "per titulos" (that is to the titular Roman churches), so that priests who on that day cannot concelebrate or communicate at the Pope's altar may know that they are not "separated from our communion". But he does not wish it to be taken "per paroecias" (the country parishes?) nor to cemetery churches (outside the city) "because the Sacraments are not to be carried a long way".[3] Chiefly because of the difficulty of the word "fermentum" those writers who held that the Roman Church always consecrated unfermented bread maintained that this was not the Holy Eucharist, but merely blessed bread, like the Eastern *εὐλογίαι* and *ἀντίδωρον*.[4] But it is clear really that the fermentum was the Holy Eucharist; most of the best authorities have always held this.[5] Innocent I's words about "carrying the Sacraments" are plain; in Ordo Rom. I we

[1] *Hist. de vita Rom. Pont.* (P.L. cxxvii, 1499-1500).

[2] Ed. Duchesne, i, 168-169.

[3] P.L. xx, 556-557. A number of other references may be seen in Bona: *Rerum lit.* i, 23, § 8.

[4] So Baronius: *Annales eccl.* ad ann. 313, n. 49; Ducange: *Glossar. med. et inf. lat.* s.v. fermentum, etc.

[5] Bona: *loc. cit.*; Mabillon: *de azymo*, c. x, etc.

find the bishop (not Pope) using the "particula fermenti quod ab Apostolico consecratum est" just as the Pope uses the Sancta, mixing it with the consecrated wine at the Pax.[1] The use and idea of the fermentum then are obvious. It corresponds to the Sancta. The Pope sent a fragment of the host consecrated by him to the suburban bishops and Roman parish priests.[2] They received it, put it in their chalice and communicated from it. As the Sancta were a symbol of the identity of the sacrifice from one Mass to another, so was the fermentum a sign of union between the bishop and his clergy. As far back as Victor I (190-202) we find the same custom. St. Irenæus reminds him that he sends the Eucharist to other bishops.[3] One cannot conceive a more pregnant symbol of unity and intercommunion. Innocent I expresses it exactly: "ut se a nostra communione non iudicent separatos" (*loc. cit.*). As for the name fermentum, it seems a clear witness that at Rome too fermented bread was consecrated (above pp. 300-303). They would hardly have used this name if there had been a principle of using azyme bread. But it may be noted that the meaning of the word is primarily symbolic. "Fermentum" is not quite the same as "fermentatum". The idea seems to have been that this particle of the Holy Eucharist unites the Church as leaven unites bread. This is obviously based on Mt. xiii, 33 (cfr. 1 Cor. v, 6; Gal. v, 9). So the name would still be used after azymes alone were consecrated. The fermentum took the place of the Sancta in non-papal or non-episcopal Masses. Its use disappeared about the same time, or soon after, leaving us only the commixture of a particle of the host just consecrated. Our form:

[1] Ordo Rom. I, 22 (P.L. lxxviii, 948).
[2] Other bishops to their clergy too.
[3] Eusebius: *Hist. eccl.* v, 24.

"Hæc commixtio et consecratio" we have seen in Ordo Rom. I etc. It is not in the Gelasian book, nor in the Gregorian, which say nothing about the fraction and mixture, though they undoubtedly existed at the time.

§ 3. Kiss of Peace.

We have here the same difficulty as about the place of the Lord's Prayer (p. 361). Africa had the Kiss of Peace just where Rome has it now, in connection with the Lord's prayer, before the Communion.[1] This too is considered Romanizing influence there.[2] We should then suppose that it has always held its present place in our rite. On the other hand we have what I think to be certain evidence that at Rome it once came before the Canon, that it was moved to where it now is shortly before the time of Innocent I.

The Kiss of Peace as a sign of fellowship and unity is one of the oldest elements of the liturgy. It exists in all rites. Tertullian mentions that in his time it occurred not only in the Eucharistic service, but in every meeting for prayer.[3] We find it already in the New Testament.[4] In Justin Martyr,[5] in Apost. Const. VIII, xi, 9,[6] in all Eastern rites[7] and in the Gallican Mass[8] it comes at the beginning of the liturgy of the faithful, after the catechumens are dismissed; a natural place, as the sign of mutual recognition between the faithful when they begin their part of the service. It seems certain that originally

[1] St. Augustine: *Sermo* vi (P.L. xxxviii, 561, 565).
[2] W. C. Bishop: *The African Rite* (*Journ. Theol. St.* xiii, 1912, p. 269).
[3] *de Orat.* 18 (P.L. i, 1282). Cfr. Bona: *Rer. lit.* ii, 16, § 7.
[4] Rom. xvi, 16; I Cor. xvi, 20; II Cor. xiii, 12; I Pet. v, 14, etc.
[5] I Apol. lxv, 2. [6] Brightman: *East Lit.* p. 13.
[7] *Ib.* Antioch, p. 44; Alexandria, p. 123; Byzantine, p. 320, etc.
[8] Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 202. See above, p. 103.

it came here at Rome too. One of the difficulties of Decentius of Eugubium was the change of its place to before the Communion. Innocent I defends this, it seems, as a change made lately.[1] Another reason for supposing that at Rome the kiss was originally before the Canon is the parallel with the liturgy of Apost. Const. VIII. That rite has one of its most striking likenesses to our Mass at the Kiss of Peace, namely almost exactly our form: "The Peace of God be with all of you. R. And with thy Spirit,"[2] as our "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, etc." No other liturgy has this formula. So the kiss is one more witness that Rome and Apost. Const. VIII are akin and that Rome too once had the kiss where it occurs in Apost. Const.,[3] as Justin says. The words: "Pax Domini" etc. mark the place of the Kiss of Peace in our Mass. A slight dislocation has removed the actual moment of the kiss to after the (later) Agnus Dei and prayer: "Domine Iesu Christe qui dixisti". But in Ordo Rom. I, II, and III it comes at the words "Pax Domini,"[4] obviously the Roman formula for the kiss. In the East the almost universal form is: "Greet one another with a holy kiss" (Rom. xvi, 16, etc.).[5] The Mozarabic rite has the kiss in the old Gallican place, before the *Illatio* (preface) with the invitation: "Habete osculum dilectionis et pacis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis Dei".[6] Milan has adopted the Roman order; after "Pax et communicatio D.N.I.C. sit semper vobiscum" the deacon says: "Offerte vobis pacem. R. Deo gratias". But just before the offertory

[1] Ep. ad Decentium, Cap. i (P.L. xx, 553).

[2] Brightman, 13. This occurs again before the elevation; xiii, 1, (Brightman, p. 23).

[3] Cfr. Drews: *Untersuch. über die sogen. clem. Lit.* 126-127.

[4] P.L. lxxviii, 945, 975, 981. The Gelasian and Gregorian books do not mention the kiss, though, of course, it existed in their times.

[5] See Brightman, *loc. cit.* [6] P.L. lxxxv, 546-547.

there is a relic of the old place of the kiss. The deacon says there: "Pacem habete. R. Ad te Domine". The omission of the Pax at Masses for the dead is because they were originally private Masses without the people's Communion. There is an old mediæval idea that the kiss of peace belongs to Communion and is its preparation.[1] It was for some time the custom to announce the coming feasts and fasts after the Pax. The Gelasian Sacramentary mentions this.[2]

§ 4. The Communion Act.

In all Eastern[3] and Gallican[4] rites there is a solemn blessing of the people by the celebrant immediately before Communion. So still in the Mozarabic[5] Mass. This blessing was originally given at Rome too. After the embolism of the Pater the deacon said: "Humiliate vos ad benedictionem" and the Pope gave the blessing in some such form as: "Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus" etc.[6] At Rome (and Milan) this has disappeared or perhaps is to be considered as having coalesced with the form: "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum".

The Communion always follows the fraction, which is its immediate preparation. Our three prayers said by the celebrant before it are late; they developed from

[1] So St. Thomas: *Summa theol.* iii, q. lxxxiii, art. 4; cfr. Bona: *Rerum lit.* ii, cap. xvi, 7; Benedict XIV: *de ss. Missæ Sacrif.* Lib. iii, cap. xx, 20-21.

[2] Ed. Wilson, p. 236; See Bona: *Rerum. lit.* ii, 16 § 4. In Ordo Rom. I, 19 invitations to breakfast are made at this point (P.L. lxxviii, 946).

[3] Brightman: Ap. Const. VIII, xiii, 1, p. 23; Antioch p. 61; Alexandria p. 138; Byzant. 337; Nestor. 293; Arm. 444.

[4] Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 212.

[5] P.L. lxxxv, 563.

[6] See quotations in Ménard's notes to the Gregorian Sacram. P.L. lxxviii, 286-288 and Bona: *op. cit.* ii, 16 § 1.

what was long merely private devotion, not included in the official text, nor uniform everywhere. The early Roman Ordines show us a most complicated ritual here. In Ordo I the Pope communicates from the Host brought to him by the "diaconus minor," then puts a fragment of it into the chalice. He receives the form of wine from the archdeacon. Communion in the form of wine in all these early documents is called "confirming" (confirmatur, confirmant se etc.). Then follows the announcement of the Station and the general Communion. Later Ordines show much the same arrangement at a Papal Mass. The end of concelebration and the gradual diminution of Communions at High Mass (only because people would not fast so long) brought about our simpler ceremony. There are many witnesses that the Host was put in the hand of the Communicant.[1] Women had to cover their hand with a white cloth.[2] It seems that as early as the time of St. Gregory I (590-604) it was sometimes put into the mouth, as now.[3] For some time both ways must have gone on side by side. St. Bede († 735) mentions reception in the hand,[4] the VIth Roman Ordo (IXth cent.) describes our way.[5] Card. Bona thinks that the use of very thin altar bread had to do with the beginning of our manner of administration.[6] The *Cærimoniale Episcoporum* directs that at a bishop's Mass his hand (in practice the ring) be kissed

[1] Tertullian: *de Idolol.* 7 (P.L. i, 669); St. Cyprian: *de lapsis*, 26 (P.L. iv, 486); St. Augustine: *Ctra ep. Parmen.* ii, 7, § 13 (P.L. xliii, 58) etc.

[2] Aug. Appendix, Sermo ccxxix, 5 (P.L. xxxix, 2168): the sermon is probably by St. Maximus of Turin (Vth cent.). Council of Auxerre in 585 or 578, can. 36 (Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, iii, 220); can. 42 (*ib.*) calls this cloth the *dominicale.* See Corblet: *Hist. . . . du Sacrement de l'Eucharistie* (Paris, 1885), ii, pp. 183-185.

[3] S. Greg: *Dialog.* iii, 3 (P.L. lxxvii, 224).

[4] *Hist. eccl. gentis angl.* iv, 24 (P.L. xcv, 214).

[5] P.L. lxxviii, 994. [6] *Rer. lit.* ii, 17, § 7.

by the communicant just before the sacred Host is given.[1] Ordo Rom. VI mentions a kiss given to the bishop (not his hand) at this moment.[2] A special kiss of peace just before Communion is a very old custom. When St. Melania went to Communion at Rome on Dec. 31, 439 she first kissed the Pontiff's hand.[3] Bishops and priests at a concelebration communicated at the right of the altar, deacons at the left or behind it, having taken the Host from the Pope at his throne, lay people received outside the sanctuary, either at the rails or in their places.[4] Only the Roman Emperor was for a time allowed to receive in the sanctuary.[5] At a concelebration everyone received from someone else. For deacons to communicate before bishops and priests, or give Communion to these was an abuse condemned by Nicæa I (325).[6] But there are many witnesses that deacons gave Communion to the faithful, from Justin Martyr[7] through the middle ages down to our own time. We find quite early that the deacon has special charge of the chalice, as St. Lawrence reminded St. Sixtus.[8] This was, no doubt, simply because the deacon has the second place. The celebrant went first and gave Communion in the form of bread, the deacon followed with the chalice.[9] The custom disappeared in both East and West with changes in the manner of administering; but we have a faint remnant of the con-

[1] *Cær. Ep.* L. ii, cap. xxix, § 5. [2] § 12. P.L. lxxviii, 994.

[3] Card. Rampolla: *Santa Melania* (Rome, 1905) n. lxviii, p. 39. Cfr. G. Catalani: *Pontificale romanum* (Rome, 1738) L. I. tit. xii, § 22 (p. 146).

[4] See Bona: *Rer. lit.* ii, 17, § 8 and his references. [5] *Ib.*

[6] Can. 18 (Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, i, 610-614).

[7] I. Apol. lxv, 5; lxvii, 5.

[8] "Experire utrum idoneum ministrum elegeris, cui commisisti dominici sanguinis dispensationem" (Resp. iv at matins in the breviary for Aug. 10).

[9] Apost. Const. VIII, xiii, 15 (Brightman, p. 25); St. Cyprian: *de lapsis* 25 (P.L. iv, 499); Ordo Rom. I, 20 (P.L. lxxviii, 947) etc.

nection between the deacon and the chalice in the fact that at the offertory he offers the chalice (only) with the celebrant (p. 306). With regard to the deacon giving Communion in general, we may note that he still receives authority to do so at his ordination[1] and may exercise it in the absence of a priest. People generally received Holy Communion standing,[2] as they still do in the East. With us too the deacon at a Pontifical Mass receives standing. But it seems that on fast-days and stational days, when they prayed kneeling, they made their Communion kneeling too.[3] The Pope received at his throne,[4] as he still does.[5] Everyone drank from the chalice through a reed (calamus) or tube of gold or silver (pugillaris, fistula).[6] The use of this reed was a precaution against spilling. It does not occur till about the time of Ordo Rom. I (VIIIth cent.) and it lasted, roughly, till about the Reformation. Luther made mock of it; but some Protestant churches kept it to the XVIIIth century.[7]

We have abundant evidence of the form of administration in East and West. It was: "the body of Christ" and "the blood of Christ," to which the communicant answered "Amen".[8] In this form it

[1] "Comministri et cooperatores estis corporis et sanguinis Domini" in the allocution.

[2] Cfr. Bona: *loc. cit.* 8.

[3] See Bingham: *Origines euchar.* XV, v, 3.

[4] Ordo Rom. I, 19, 20 (P.L. lxxviii, 946-947).

[5] It was once the custom for the Pope to receive Communion sitting on the throne, facing the people. Benedict XIV notes this and adds that in his time the Pope stands "corpore inclinato" (*de ss. sacr. missæ*, III, xxi, 4). So he does now. The ceremonial of the *Cappella Papale* allows him to give Communion to the Cardinals, himself sitting. I have to thank Mgr. Wallis, the distinguished Master of Ceremonies of Westminster Cathedral, for this information.

[6] *Ib.* [7] Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* i, 142-143.

[8] Apost. Const. VIII, xiii, 15. Test Dni (Cooper-Maclean, 128). σῶμα Χριστοῦ, αἷμα Χριστοῦ ποτήριον ζωῆς (Brightman, p. 25); Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.* vi, 43; Tertullian: *de Spect.* 25 (P.L. i, 657); Augustine: *ctra Faustum* xii, 10 (P.L. xlii, 259). See the forms of administration in the *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Wright, pp. 268, 290) and *Acts of John* (Lipsius and Bonnet, 208-209).

was a statement of what was given; the answer was an act of faith that it is so. Our present words are the result of a gradual expansion of the old form into a prayer. In Gregory I's time it has already become: "Corpus D.N.I.C. conservet animam tuam".[1] The answer "Amen" has now dropped out on most occasions, but remains at Ordination Masses.[2] More about the rite of Communion will be found in Card. Bona: *Rerum Liturgiarum* II, xvii.

§ 5. Communion under one kind.

We are not here concerned with the theological aspect of this question. That a man who receives the living body of Christ receives him entirely, that the precious blood, soul and divinity cannot be separated from Christ's body (unless we conceive ourselves as killing him again), that receiving Christ you can receive nothing more, that the layman has exactly the same Sacrament as the priest, all this is a commonplace of Catholic apologetic.[3] We are concerned only with the history of the rite. We note at once that the question is merely one of ritual. Whether the Communicant receive one kind, or both, and in what form, is a matter of ceremony merely, like the kind of bread consecrated or the language of the liturgy. A Latin Catholic may perhaps regret that our rite no longer keeps the older ceremony, as he might regret that we no longer say our prayers in Greek. But he must accept his rite as it stands. It is not however forbidden to discuss when

[1] Ioh. Diac: *Vita S. Greg*: ii, 41 (P.L. lxxv, 103). Various mediæval forms in Gihr: *op. cit.* 693, n. 3.

[2] For the various Eastern forms see Brightman: *loc. cit.* and Renaudot: *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* (ed. 2, Frankfurt, 1847) ii, 118-125.

[3] See Bishop Hedley: *The Holy Eucharist* (in this series) chap. vi; also Father S. F. Smith, S.J.: *Communion under one kind* (C.T.S. 1d., 1911).

the change began and why. That the species under which Communion is received is only a matter of ceremony is shown by two facts. On the one hand the Church makes no principle of Communion under one kind alone. Millions of Catholic Uniates receive both kinds always. Our practice is not Catholic, but Latin, an incidental development of our rite, kept still, like many other things, from conservative instinct and because the Reformers who changed it did so from heretical motives.[1] On the other hand the Church never made a principle of Communion under both kinds. From the earliest time there are numerous cases of one kind only being received, in East and West. Babies just baptized received only the consecrated wine. Communion was taken home and received in the form of bread only. Communion for the sick and that at the Mass of the Presanctified was only in the form of bread.[2] Down to about the XIIth century the normal way of receiving Communion was under both kinds everywhere. But the special cases of reception of one kind were well known and made a change of discipline less difficult. The change was merely a gradual extension of those cases. Its chief reason was undoubtedly the difficulty of reverence in drinking and the fear of profanation. Many mediæval writers mention this explicitly.[3] Experiments were made to avoid this danger before the withdrawing of the chalice. The reed or tube was one (p. 375). The practice of intinction, of dipping the host into the consecrated wine and

[1] The case is much the same with Latin as our liturgical language. The rebels made a great principle of the vulgar tongue and a violent attack on our "mutilated Sacrament". Both had been in possession for many centuries. We defended both, and defending them kept them. Either could be changed by lawful authority at any time.

[2] See Bona: *Rer. liturg.* II. xviii, for a discussion of these cases, with evidence. Hedley: *op. cit.* pp. 87-97.

[3] E. gr. Ivo of Chartres († 1116) and Ernulph of Rochester († 1124), quoted in Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* i, 391.

so administering it with a spoon, was another. This has become the common practice in the East. It obtained for a time in the West too, but was disliked here by the authorities. The Council of Braga in 675 forbids it,[1] Pope Paschal II (1099-1118) calls it "a human and new custom"[2]; Micrologus does not like it either.[3] Intinction was common, especially in England,[4] but never became the dominant practice in the West. Another compromise, common in the middle ages, was to give the laity wine, not itself consecrated but sanctified by consecrated bread dipped into it. We still have a case of this at the Celebrant's Communion on Good Friday. It is thus ordered by Ordo Rom. I, 35.[5] The idea is explained in some versions: "Sanctificatur vinum non consecratum per sanctificatum panem"; [6] but Amalarius of Metz will not allow this.[7] During the middle ages, from about the time of Amalarius (IXth cent.) even down to the XVth or XVIth, Communion was sometimes given in this way to lay people. There are cases in England of its use for the sick, just before the Reformation.[8] But the greater number of writers dislike the custom and deny the principle of consecration by contact. Micrologus says: "Non est authenticum quod quidam corpus Domini intingunt et intinctum pro complemendo communionis populo distribuunt."[9] So also on Good Friday they insist that the wine is not consecrated, that the priest should not say: "Hæc commixtio et consecratio etc."[10] Another way was to mix consecrated wine with un-

[1] Can. i. (Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, iii, 314-315).
[2] Ep. 355 (P.L. clxiii, 442).
[3] 29 (P.L. cli, 989).
[4] Ernulf of Rochester, *loc. cit.*
[5] P.L. lxxviii, 954.
[6] *Ib.* 895.
[7] *de eccl. off.* i, 15 (P.L. cv, 1032).
[8] Mabillon in P.L. lxxviii, 900.
[9] Cap. 19 (P.L. cli, 989).
[10] Beleth: *Rat. div. off.* Cap. 99 (P.L. ccii, 104); Durandus: *Rationale*, vi, Cap. 77, § 26 etc. So the rubric of the missal on Good Friday commands the celebrant to make the intinction "nihil dicens".

consecrated. Durandus knows this too and denies that all then becomes consecrated.[1] A detailed account of these once important controversies will be found in Mabillon's Commentary on the Roman Ordines[2] Eventually the difficulties led to the further change of receiving only the consecrated bread. One of the first witnesses for this is a certain Rudolf, Abbot of St. Trond in the Netherlands in 1110, who in a poem recommends that the chalice be not given to laymen, lest they spill it or think that Christ be not present under one kind only.[3] Alexander of Hales († 1245) says that in his time laymen "almost everywhere" receive only the host.[4] But the custom was not yet quite universal. Synods at Durham in 1220 and at Exeter in 1287[5] still suppose that the laity drink of the chalice. St. Thomas Aquinas († 1274) answers the question: "Whether it be lawful to receive the body of Christ without the blood?"[6] negatively as regards the priest (celebrant), affirmatively in the case of laymen and gives the usual reason (fear of spilling); but the practice obtains still only "in some churches". As late as the XIVth century the XVth Roman Ordo says that at a Papal Mass the deacon gives the form of wine (with the tube, "fistula") to all who have received the host from the Pope.[7] However from the XIIth and XIIIth centuries Communion under one kind spread

[1] *Rationale*, iv, Cap. 42, § 8. [2] P.L. lxxviii, 893-904.

[3] "Hic et ibi cautela fiat ne presbyter ægris
Aut sanis tribuat laicis de sanguine Christi;
Nam fundi posset leviter, simplexque putaret
Quod non sub specie sit totus Iesus utraque."

quoted by Bona: *Rer. lit.* II, xviii, § 1.

[4] *Summa Theol.* pars iv, q. 53, art. 1.

[5] Mansi, xxiv, 788 (can. 4). [6] *Sum. Theol.* iii, q. lxxx, art. 4.

[7] Ordo Rom. XV, 85 (P.L. lxxviii, 1332). At a Papal High Mass the deacon and subdeacon still receive both kinds. For other cases (Cardinals, the Emperor etc.) see Benedict XIV: *de ss. Missæ sacr.* II, xxii, § 32 (*ed. cit.* pp. 275-276).

rapidly, till by the XIVth it became practically universal in the West. Durandus supposes it.[1] The Council of Constance (1414-1418) made what was already an old custom into a law [2] and Trent confirmed and defended it.[3] It may be noted that the gradual withdrawing of the chalice from the laity took place very quietly, without the faintest sign of any sense of grievance or protest on their part.

The points to notice about it are, first, that there was a real fear of irreverence in the old use of the chalice. This is shown by many witnesses and still more by the fact that the primitive custom was modified practically everywhere. In the East intinction seemed to solve the difficulty and remains the usual practice. [4] It has grave difficulties of cleanliness. [5] In the West various attempts to guard against spilling (the fistula and intinction) were not found satisfactory and led finally to the total withdrawing of the chalice. Secondly we may note that the popular concentration of attention on the Blessed Sacrament in the form of bread helped the change. There are many signs of this in the middle ages. We have seen that the elevation of the host was at first commoner than that of the chalice (p. 341). Most mediæval writers, when they speak of the Blessed Sacrament, evidently think

[1] *Rationale* iv, 54, § 3-4. He calls the Communion of the people "sumptio corporis" and defends the real presence under one kind only. But then (§ 4) it transpires that the subdeacon receives both kinds. Durandus hardly mentions the Communion of the people and does not go into this question expressly. One gathers that both customs exist in his time. He has clearly no idea how important the question will become later.

[2] Sessio xiii (15 June, 1415) in Denzinger: *Enchiridion* n. 626 (ed. x, p. 227).

[3] Sess. xxi (16 June, 1562) Cap. i, and Can. 1-3 (Denzinger *ib.* 930, 934-936, pp. 308, 310).

[4] The Orthodox, Jacobites, Copts and Armenians use intinction. The Nestorians and Abyssinians receive separately. Uniates follow in each case the same practice as the Schismatics.

[5] The same spoon is put in each mouth.

only of the host, as does the average modern Catholic. Traces of this begin very early. "Fractio panis" was a common name for the Holy Eucharist (p. 398). Perhaps such texts as Joh. vi, 35, 41, 50, 52, etc.; Lk. xxvi, 35; Act. ii, 46; 1 Cor. x, 17, which mention only the bread, helped this. Later, the fact that we *see* the host, not what is in the chalice, was another factor. So all later developments of Eucharistic devotion, processions, benediction etc. regard only the host.[1] And thirdly we may note that whereas, on the one hand, everyone who goes to Communion under any rite receives *ex opere operato* the same grace; on the other, the principle of doing what our Lord did at the Last Supper is saved at each Mass by at least one person, the celebrant, who receives both kinds.

A mediæval custom that began in England was that of giving the laity part of the ablutions to drink after Communion. It spread to Germany, France and even Rome. It was merely a precaution of cleansing the mouth, now restricted to the celebrant, except that we have a trace of it in the water we give to the sick after their Communion.[2]

§ 6. Communion Prayers.

The early Sacramentaries and Ordines say nothing about special prayers before Communion. No doubt very early the celebrant said some private prayers; these were no more determined, no more formed part of the official service than do the private devotions of

[1] There is action and reaction here. Since Communion is given under one species, we reserve only that species; so visits to the Blessed Sacrament, Benediction and so on are necessarily concerned with that only.

[2] Rietschel: *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, p. 392; H. Thurston, S.J.: *The Laity and the unconsecrated Chalice* (*The Month*, Oct. 1911, pp. 337-352).

people who go to Communion now. However eventually three such prayers, long popular, found their way into the missal. *Domine Iesu Christe qui dixisti* is a prayer connected with the kiss of peace, now coming between the formula: "Pax Domini" and the actual kiss. It does not occur in many mediæval missals (e. gr. Sarum); nor does Micrologus know it. Durandus mentions it.[1] It falls out with the kiss at Requiems. *Domine Iesu Christe, fili Dei vivi* is obviously a private prayer for the celebrant's own Communion ("libera *me*" etc.). It occurs occasionally as early as the XIth century. Micrologus, at that time, quotes it as coming "not from the order (sc. not official) but from the tradition of pious men."[2] By the XIVth century it had found its way into the missal at Rome. Ordo Rom. XIV says that the Pope after the Pax "reverently with joined hands says those prayers: Domine Iesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, etc. and the other prayers to be said before he receives the host, as they are in the book."[3] The third prayer: *Perceptio corporis tui* is also an addition that found its way gradually into the text. Mediæval local rites had various prayers at this point. Sarum had our second and third, but a different one as first.[4] Durandus says in general: "the priest before receiving the body and blood of Christ should say the prayers appointed by the holy fathers."[5] Our three were not fixed finally till the publication of Pius V's missal in 1570. The Mozarabic Mass has a different prayer, then an ejaculation popular in the middle ages. "Ave in ævum sanctissima caro Christi" etc.[6] Milan now has very nearly the Roman prayers. *Panem cælestem*

[1] *Ration.* iv, 53, § 8. [2] Microl. 18 (P.L. cli, 989).
[3] Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1168).
[4] Ed. Burntisland, 625-626. [5] *Rat.* iv, 54 § 10.
[6] P.L. lxxxv, 566; cfr. *Missale Sarum* (ed. cit.) 626.

accipiam, based on Ps. cxv, 4, is again a fairly obvious form, no doubt used by many priests long before it was included in the official text. The same may be said of the words for the chalice: *Quid retribuam Domino* etc. (Ps. cxv, 3-4; xvii, 4). Durandus knows both.[1] In the Sarum rite the priest said each time only: "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti" making the sign of the cross with the host or chalice; he did not say the words of administration for himself.[2] *Domine non sum dignus* is what the centurion said and our Lord praised (Mt. viii, 6, 10), with "anima" for "puer". There has been a most superfluous discussion lately about the form: "dic verbo"; it is in the Vulgate and Greek text (εἰπὲ λόγῳ) and is a quite natural construction in Greek or Latin ("command by thy word"). Card. Bona quotes Origen and St. John Chrysostom as recommending this form for our prayer before Communion.[3] St. Augustine[4] and many writers[5] commenting on the text, point out how suitable it is for Communion. But it does not occur in the official text of many mediæval missals; it was definitely authorized in 1570. We have already spoken of the words of administration (p. 375).

The ablutions are the necessary washing of the chalice and fingers after Communion. Something of the kind must have existed from very early times; like many rites, from being an obvious practical detail, which no one noticed or thought worth mentioning, it grew imperceptibly into a ceremony. In the early Roman Ordines a towel is mentioned, obviously for wiping the mouth and chalice. A rinsing of some kind is also implied by the fact that an acolyte "held

[1] *Rat. ib.* [2] *Ed. cit.* 626. [3] *Rer. Lit.* II, xvii, § 1.
[4] Sermo lxii, 1 (P.L. xxxviii, 415).
[5] Dionys. Cartus.; *in Matth.* c. 8 etc.; cfr. Gihr: *op. cit.* 691.

the water".[1] In Ordo III the large chalice (scyphus) is rinsed with wine, into which the archdeacon pours some of the consecrated wine and the people communicate therefrom.[2] Then in Ordo XIV we find almost exactly our present arrangement, except that the second ablution (wine and water) is not drunk, but is poured away "in a clean place".[3] Meanwhile the two prayers "*Quod ore sumpsimus*" and "*Corpus tuum, Domine*" are said. These too are the survivors of various prayers said as private devotion in the middle ages. Mediæval missals often have others.[4] But the first ("Quod ore sumpsimus") occurs nearly always. It is an old Postcommunion, in the Leonine book for a general Mass (in July),[5] Gelasian for Saturday in the third week of Lent,[6] etc. Its origin as a public prayer is shewn by the plural form. "Corpus tuum Domine" on the other hand was composed as a private prayer, in the singular. The Eastern, Gallican and Mozarabic rites have not developed the rinsing of the vessels into a ceremony at all. Milan has adopted the Roman practice.

The little group of prayers at the Communion of the people (Confiteor, Ecce Agnus Dei, Domine non sum dignus) are an interesting example of the way additions find their way into the missal. At first they were used for Communion given out of Mass (to the sick and so on). In this way they are most intelligible. The Confiteor with its answers is said instead of at the beginning of Mass. "Ecce Agnus Dei" echoes the *Agnus Dei*, "Domine non sum dignus" is taken from the Mass. So also (out of Mass) the last blessing is

[1] Ordo Rom. I, 20 (P.L. lxxviii, 947): II, 14 (*ib.* 976).
[2] III, 15 (*ib.* 982). For this rite see Mabillon's notes on the Ordines Rom. n. ix in P.L. lxxviii, 884-886.
[3] Ordo Rom. XIV, 53 (*ib.* 1168-1169).
[4] E. gr. Missale Sarum (*ed. cit.*), 627-628.
[5] No. xx, ed. Feltoe, p. 69. [6] Ed. Wilson, p. 37.

given after Communion. In this way we have a selection of the Mass-prayers most relevant to Communion. Then people became accustomed to these prayers at Communion and the whole group (except the blessing) began to be used at Mass too. This seems to have happened about the XIIIth century.[1]

§ 7. Agnus Dei and Communion Antiphon.

The rite of Communion was, especially in early ages, a very long and complicated thing. Meanwhile the choir sang. It is the same idea as at the Introit and Offertory. They sang to fill up the interval. The older of these two chants is the one we call *Communio.* We may take that first.

All rites have a chant of some kind during the Communion. At first, like all other such hymns, it was a psalm. In Apost. Const. VIII, xiii, 16 it is Ps. xxxiii,[2] of which v. 9 ("Taste and see that the Lord is sweet") is obviously appropriate. At Antioch this verse is sung, with an amplification.[3] Other Eastern liturgies have a sometimes variable chant (generally not a psalm) called in Greek *κοινωνικόν*, as we say "Communio".[4]

The first mention we have of the Communion-chant in the West is in St. Augustine († 430). In his time this and the Offertory chant were still new things in Africa. He wrote a treatise to defend their use.[5] The Communio was a psalm, with Gloria Patri, and

[1] Krazer: *de apostolicis necnon antiquis eccl occid. liturgiis*, (Augsburg, 1786), sect. iv, art. 1, cap. 15.

[2] Brightman, p. 25. [3] *Ib.* 63.

[4] The hymns of Severus of Antioch (*Patr. Orient.* vi and vii, ed. by E. W. Brooks) contain examples of hymns for Communion, e. gr. "The ineffable mystery of God is set ready, and the spiritual concourse of angels and the all-holy table. Let us all by the grace of the Saviour of all approach with faith the holy body and blood of the only Son, saying Halleluyah" (vii, 679). The Byzantine rite has variable troparia.

[5] *Contra Hilarium* (*Retract.* ii, 11) see above, p. 303.

an antiphon before and after it. Down to the XIIth century all allusions to it show this.[1] Then it was postponed till after the Communion,[2] probably because the Agnus Dei took more time. So Durandus notes that this chant is often called Postcommunion.[3] About the same time it was gradually shortened, a result of the lessening of the number of communicants at a sung Mass. Now we have only the antiphon. It is generally a verse of Scripture alluding, not to Communion, but to the occasion of the Mass; but it is often not scriptural.[4] The Communion antiphons in Lent are curious. There is an almost perfect sequence of verses taken from consecutive psalms, from Ps. 1 on Ash Wednesday to Ps. 26 before Palm Sunday. This excludes the Thursdays, which were not liturgical days till the VIIIth cent. and the Sundays, which belong to another class. The interruptions are accounted for by Fr. Thurston.[5] Only at Requiems have we trace of the old arrangement of an antiphon and psalm.[6] The Gallican Communion-chant is called *Trecanum* by St. Germanus. He describes it as an act of faith in the holy Trinity,[7] presumably a doxology. The Mozarabic Missal calls it *ad accedentes.* It consists at Toledo of Ps. xxxiii, 9, 1, 23 with the Gloria, all interspersed with Alleluias.[8] At Milan it is the *Transitorium*, a Gospel text (from that of the day), or other from Scripture, or often an ecclesiastical composition curiously like

[1] Ordo Rom. I, 20. It was sung alternately by the choir and subdeacons (P.L. lxxviii, 947) Micrologus, 18 (P.L. cli, 989).

[2] Rupert of Deutz († 1135); *de divin. offic.* ii, 18 (P.L. clxx, 13).

[3] *Rationale*, iv, 56, § 1.

[4] E. gr. for St. Ignatius Ant. (Feb. 1), from his letter to the Romans (iv, 1); for the Seven Dolours, etc. The older Communio is often the Introit Antiphon repeated.

[5] See his *Lent and Holy Week*, 165-169.

[6] The verse "Requiem æternam" here takes the place of the psalm.

[7] Duchesne: *Origines*, 214-215. [8] P.L. lxxxv, 564-565.

the Antiochene and Byzantine Koinonika.[1] The beautiful hymn: "Sancti venite, Christi corpus sumite" is the Communion hymn of the Bangor antiphonary.

The *Agnus Dei* is later. It was added to fill up the time of the fraction. The use of St. John the Baptist's greeting (Joh. i, 29) at the Communion time is natural; it is said by the celebrant in the Antiochene liturgy.[2] The Liber Pontificalis says that Pope Sergius I (687-701) "ordered Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis to be sung by clergy and people at the time of the breaking of the Lord's body.[3] It occurs however in the Gregorian Sacramentary.[4] At first it was sung once by clergy and people.[5] In the XIth cent. it is sung twice.[6] The earlier documents come to the same thing, inasmuch as it was sung once by the clergy and once by the people.[7] The number two would lead naturally to three. John Beleth (XIIth cent.) describes exactly our present practice, with "Dona nobis pacem" at the third repetition.[8] But Innocent III (1198-1216) notes that many Churches kept an older custom of singing "miserere nobis" three times, among others the Lateran basilica.[9] The Lateran still keeps this custom. The Mass on Holy Saturday is still more archaic, having no Agnus Dei at all, as it has no Offertory nor Communion antiphon. During the middle ages on Maundy Thursday the

[1] Quoted by Duchesne, l.c. 216.

[2] Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 62. Other (Gallican) chants were once sung at Rome during the fraction. See Tomasi's edition of the Gregorian Antiphonary, pp. 19, 29, 76, 81, 96 ("infra actionem" should be: "in fractione"); ed. Vezzosi, vol. v (Rome, 1750).

[3] Ed. Duchesne, i, 376. [4] P.L. lxxviii, 28.

[5] *Lib. Pont. ib.* Ordo Rom. I, 19 (P.L. lxxviii, 946), II, 13 (*ib.* 975). Ordo of St. Amand (Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 445).

[6] John of Avranches (Abricensis): *Liber de offic. eccl.* 48 (P.L. cxlvii, 37). "Chorus vero psallat Agnus Dei . . . choro Agnus Dei bis repetente". This may mean three times altogether.

[7] Ordo of Saint-Amand (*loc. cit.*), etc.

[8] *Rat. div. offic.* 48 (P.L. ccii, 55).

[9] *De s. altaris myst.* vi, 4 (P.L. ccxvii, 908).

Agnus Dei was sung with "miserere nobis" thrice. Gihr accounts for this as a result of the omission of the kiss of peace on that day.[1] It can be explained more naturally perhaps by the fact that the station is at St. John Lateran. Our changed formula for Requiems can be traced back to about the XIIth century at least.[2] "Agnus" as a vocative is curious, evidently in order to reproduce the original text (Joh. i, 29) exactly. "Peccata" in the plural is a liturgical variant of the text (*τὴν ἁμαρτίαν*) having the same meaning,[3] possibly suggested by 1 Joh. iii, 5. The Agnus was often farced in the middle ages.[4] The Gallican rite did not have this chant usually,[5] nor has the Mozarabic. It is a Roman feature. Milan has adopted it from Rome for Requiems only.

[1] *das h. Messopfer*, 671, n. 2.
[2] Beleth: *Rat. div. offic.* 48 (P.L. ccii, 55).
[3] Cfr. Is. liii, 4, 7; Knabenbauer: *Comm. in Ev. Sec. Ioh.* (Cursus Script. Sacræ, Paris, Lethielleux, 1898) p. 102.
[4] An example is given by Bona: *Rer. lit.* ii, 16, § 5.
[5] See above, p. 387, n. 2.

CHAPTER X.

AFTER THE COMMUNION.

§ 1. Postcommunion and Oratio super populum.

WHEN the distribution of Holy Communion is over the liturgy very soon comes to an end. All that remains is a short prayer of thanksgiving and the dismissal. The Eastern rites have here their usual form, a litany by the deacon and a prayer by the celebrant.[1] At Milan the triple Kyrie eleison after the Postcommunion is perhaps a relic of this. The Gallican Mass had an exhortation to the people to thank God for the grace they have received, then a prayer.[2] The exhortation has disappeared in the Mozarabic rite.[3]

In the Roman Mass we have a prayer, arranged and said exactly like the Collect at the beginning. It is in fact a collect, with the special note of thanksgiving and prayer that our Communion be fruitful. One may then perhaps conjecture that this prayer (the Postcommunion) is all that is left of a litany here too; the same reasons persuade this as in the case of the Collect (see p. 248). But no trace of a litany remains. The important point about the Roman thanksgiving is that it had (sometimes still has) two such prayers, one a thanksgiving, the other for a blessing. So in the Leonine Sacramentary.[4] This corresponds

[1] Antioch (Brightman, p. 65); Alexandria (*ib.* 139) etc.
[2] Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 217. [3] P.L. lxxxv, 120, 567.
[4] E. gr. for the summer Ember days (ed. Feltoe, p. 51) etc.

exactly to the liturgy of Apost. Const. VIII, xv,[1] and is another significant parallel. In the Leonine book the prayers have no titles; the Gelasian names for them are *Postcommunio* and *Ad populum*.[2] But already the second prayer becomes less universal. In the Gregorian book the Postcommunion is called *Ad complendum;* the second ("Super populum") is confined almost exclusively to the time from Septuagesima to Easter.[3] We now have it only on Ferias in Lent. Honorius of Autun (XIIth cent.)[4] and all the later commentators[5] notice this and explain it mystically.

The restriction of the second prayer to Lent is no doubt merely one more case of shortening the Mass, whereas Lenten prayers as a general rule remain longer.[6] The prayer *Super populum* is now always the Vesper prayer of the day. This suggests a special reason for its occurrence on Lenten ferias. Namely on fast-days Vespers are said in the morning and Mass after None. So Vespers are the next function after Mass. Were they once joined on to Mass immediately, as they are on the last days of Holy Week, and is our surviving Super populum prayer a remnant of Vespers? Certainly those in the missal do not seem to be specially Mass-prayers. I do not find in any the note of asking for a blessing, for the fruit of Communion, as in the Leonine last prayers. *Humiliate capita vestra Deo* does not occur in the Sacramentaries. I conjecture that it was added when this prayer became a speciality of Lent,[7] though it agrees with the inclination for the

[1] Brightman: *op. cit.*, 25-27.
[2] Ed. Wilson, p. 3 etc. *passim.*
[3] P.L. lxxviii, 53-81.
[4] *Gemma anim.* i, 67 (P.L. clxxii, 565).
[5] Durandus: *Rationale*, vi, 28, § 8.
[6] So the divine office for Lent, etc.
[7] The same idea as praying kneeling on fast-days.

last prayer in other liturgies.[1] The mediæval writers know this form.[2] Meanwhile the first prayer (Postcommunion) absorbed the ideas of the second, lost its special note of thanksgiving to some extent and became almost a general prayer about the feast or occasion, though it nearly always keeps some allusion to the Communion. Its name varied in the middle ages. "Oratio ad complendum" was common;[3] Durandus, who calls the Communion antiphon "Postcommunio," calls this "Oratio novissima quæ proprie postcommunio vocatur".[4] This name then became the regular one. In the early middle ages the celebrant did not turn to the people at the Dominus vobiscum before the Postcommunion,[5] later he did.[6] The number, arrangement, style and rhythm of Postcommunions correspond exactly to what we have said of the collects (pp. 248-251).

§ 2. Dismissal.

The end of all liturgies (except that of the Nestorians) is a formal dismissal of the people by the deacon. The form in Apost. Const. VIII, xv, 10 is: "Go in peace".[7] Antioch, Alexandria and the Byzantine rite have: "Let us go (or: go) in peace. R. In the name of the Lord," then a short prayer of dismissal by the celebrant.[8] The Nestorians have only this prayer and a blessing.[9] The Gallican rites had similar forms; Stowe Missal: "Missa acta est. R. In pace," etc.[10] As far back as we can trace the

[1] Ap. Const. VIII, xv, 6: "Bow to God through his Christ and bless him" (Brightman, 26) cfr. Antioch: "Let us bow our heads to the Lord" (*ib.* 66), Alexandria (*ib.* 142) etc.
[2] Durandus: *Rat.* vi, 28, § 7, etc.
[3] Ordo Rom. I, 21 (P.L. lxxviii, 948) etc.
[4] *Rat.* iv, 57, § 1.
[5] Ordo Rom. I (*loc. cit.*).
[6] Durandus, *loc. cit.*
[7] Brightman, p. 27.
[8] *Ib.* 67, 142, 397.
[9] *Ib.* 303.
[10] Duchesne: *Origines*, p. 217.—P.L. lxxxv, 120 (Mozarabic).

Roman dismissal has been: "Ite missa est. R. Deo gratias".[1] The form has caused much needless embarrassment. It is simply the archaic use of "missa," meaning "missio," "dimissio"[2] and the right translation is: "Go, it is the dismissal". Florus of Lyons in the IXth century explains it quite correctly.[3]

Since about the XIth century, on days that have the character of penance, instead of the dismissal we say: "Benedicamus Domino".[4] The reason is that on such days the people did not go away, but stayed in church for further prayers, the longer prayers suitable for fast-days or, maybe, Vespers.[5] So at one time "Benedicamus Domino" was sung at the end of the Christmas midnight Mass, because people stayed for Lauds.[6] Then "Ite missa est" began to be looked upon as a joyful form, following the Gloria. So at Requiems they left it out and substituted: "Requiescant in pace". John Beleth (XIIth cent.) says this is still "only a general custom".[7]

§ 3. After the Dismissal.

It must surprise a stranger that, after we have solemnly told the people to go away, they stay and the service continues. The explanation is, of course, that the three elements after "Ite missa est," the Placeat prayer, blessing and last gospel, are all late additions, originally private devotions which have found their way into the official text, just as have the cele-

[1] Ordo Rom. I, 21 (P.L. lxxviii, 948); II, 15 (*ib.* 976); III, 18 *ib.* (984).

[2] See p. 399.

[3] *de actione missæ*, n. 92 (P.L. cix, 72). See below p. 400.

[4] It was not so in the time of Ordo Rom. I, 24 (P.L. lxxviii, 949); but Micrologus notes it (34 and 46; P.L. cli, 1005, 1011), cfr. Durandus: *Rat.* iv, 57, § 7).

[5] Bona: *Rer. liturg.* II. xx, n. 3. [6] Durandus: *loc. cit.*

[7] *Rat. div. offic.* 49. (P.L. ccii, 56).

brant's prayers of preparation at the beginning.[1] In the first Roman Ordines after the "Ite missa est" nothing more happens but the forming up of the procession, and all go back to the Sacristy.[2]

Before turning away from the altar the celebrant would first kiss it, as he does always before he turns his back to it (see p. 247). The prayer *Placeat tibi* was merely a private ejaculation as he did so. It occurs in Micrologus, who however, like all the mediæval writers, mentions it as coming after the Mass is over ("finitis omnibus").[3] As the Pontiff went out he blessed the people. It is the usual practice at any procession. In Ordo Rom. I as he comes into the presbytery from the sanctuary the assisting bishops ask for his blessing, which he gives in the form: "Benedicat nos Dominus".[4] Micrologus in the XIth century notes that priests too have begun to bless the people as they start to go out; he says it would now be a grave scandal not to do so.[5] Ordo Rom. XIV has our blessing exactly (for a bishop), but before the Placeat.[6] There are various forms in the midddle ages.[7] It was not till the revision of the missal under Clement VIII (1604) that the exact forms for bishop and priest were finally fixed.

The *Last Gospel* is one of the latest additions to the Mass. The beginning of St. John's gospel (i, 1-14) was the object of special devotion from the time of the Fathers. St. Augustine tells of a man who wanted

[1] The paradox is the same at both ends of the Mass. We begin before the introit and continue after the dismissal.

[2] Ordo Rom. I, 21 (P.L. lxxviii, 948); II, 15 (*ib.* 976); III, 18 (*ib.* 984).

[3] Micrologus, 22 (P.L. cli, 992).

[4] Ordo Rom. I, 21 (*loc. cit.*); cfr. II and III (*ib.*).

[5] 21 (P.L. cli, 991-992).

[6] 53 (P.L. lxxviii, 1169). So also Micrologus (*loc. cit.*) and Durandus: *Rat.* iv, 59, § 8.

[7] Cfr. Bona; *Rer. lit.* II, xx, 4.

this text to be written in letters of gold in every church.[1] In the middle ages there were all manner of curious, often superstitious, practices connected with it. People wrote it on amulets and wore it as a charm. It was sometimes said at the baptism of children and at extreme unction.[2] Then as a favourite devotion, it was said (among the thanksgiving prayers) by priests after Mass. This was its state throughout the middle ages. It became more and more a recognized part of the Gratiarum actio (like the Benedicite, etc. now) but was in no wise an element of the Mass. Durandus has nothing to say about it at all.[3] In the Sarum Missal it is to be said on the way back to the sacristy.[4] Then, very late, this gospel began to be said at the altar, before the celebrant retires; but still as part of his thanksgiving, rather than as part of the Mass. John Burchard in his ceremonial (1502) allows this; there are other cases in which it is so recited, at about the same time.[5] Pius V in his reformed missal (1570) for the first time admits it as part of the Mass; but even later its position is still uncertain in places.[6] Indeed it may still be questioned how far the last gospel is to be considered an element of the Mass, or rather of the prayers after Mass. It is not sung by the deacon, it has no solemnities at High Mass, a bishop says it on his way from the altar.[7] It is said at the north end of the altar in imitation of the other gospel. The substitution of other gospels (when there are two at Matins) is the latest development of all, natural enough when the idea of a second gospel at Mass had become recognized. The Eastern rites have nothing of these additions, but only a prayer of

[1] *de Civ. Dei*, x, 29, § 2 (P.L. xli, 309).
[2] Benedict XIV: *de ss. missæ sacr.* II, xxiv, 8. [3] Cfr. *Rat.* iv, 59.
[4] Ed. Burntisland, 629. [5] Cfr. Bona: *Rer. lit.* II, xx, § 5.
[6] *Ib.* [7] *Cær. Episc.* II, viii, 80.

dismissal, with sometimes a blessing and then prayers to be said at the unvesting. Only the Armenians (both Gregorian and Uniate), as the most striking example of the Romanizing of their rite, have our last gospel at the end of their liturgy.[1] Nor have the Gallican and Mozarabic Masses anything after the dismissal. Milan has adopted the Roman Placeat, blessing and last gospel.

The usual answer to a lesson (Deo gratias) ends the Mass.

[1] Brightman p. 456.

APPENDIX I.

The names of the Mass.

LIKE all other liturgical functions, like offices and ranks in the Church,[1] indeed like everything else in the world, the religious service that we call the Mass existed long before it had a special technical name. At the Last Supper, when our Lord took the bread and wine he did not announce what he was about to do by a new title. Nor need we imagine that the Apostles in obeying his command felt the need of a definite name for their repetition of his action. Then, as always happens, certain obvious words were used for this rite; they became gradually more or less special names for it and at last some of them, having acquired a definite restriction, emerge as its proper names. We may notice at once that there has never been one recognized proper name for the Eucharistic sacrifice used everywhere. Among other reasons the difference of languages in the Church prevented that. One of the most interesting suggestions is that St. Paul's "shewing forth the death of the Lord" (I Cor. xi, 26) contains the germ of a technical term. To "shew forth" (καταγγέλλειν) is a good translation of the Hebrew *Haggadah* (or rather of its root)[2] which is the name of the Jewish service for Passover night, containing the ritual narration of the Exodus; just as our Mass is the solemn memory (containing also a narration) of our Lord's passion and death. So St. Paul perhaps means

[1] E. gr. Bishop, Pope, etc.

[2] הַגָּדָה from הַגִּיד (Hiph. of נָגַד) to announce, proclaim, tell. Cfr. Ex. xiii, 8.

that the "eating of this bread and drinking of the cup" is the Christian Haggadah.

The *Breaking of Bread* (κλάσις ἄρτου, fractio panis) is one of the earliest names, occurring several times in the New Test.[1] The *Lord's Supper* (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, coena Domini)[2] is also obvious. *Communion* (κοινωνία, communio) meant originally a common action, fellowship. It is used for other things, such as almsgiving[3] and for religious union and fellowship in general;[4] but already in the New Testament it occurs for our common share in the Body of Christ;[5] it gradually became in Latin the technical name for this Sacrament. Then we have *Meeting* (σύναξις, συνέλευσις, our word *Collecta*) very often, with the verb (συνάγω).[6] Synaxis becomes a technical name for any religious meeting.[7] *Offering* (προσφορά) means rather the thing offered (oblatio) than the whole service.[8] The early Latin Fathers use many names for the Mass. Tertullian calls it: *Coena Domini*,[9] *dominica Solemnia*,[10] *Oblatio*,[11] *dominica Passio*[12] *Sacrificium*.[13] St. Cyprian has *Sacrificium* constantly, generally with an epithet (divina sacrificia, novum sacrificium, sacrificia Dei),[14] also *Solemnia*,[15] *Dominïcum*,[16] *Passio*.[17] There are many other expressions which are rather descriptions than names in any sense.

Of so many terms three survive as the regular technical names, Eucharist, Liturgy, Mass.

Eucharist (εὐχαριστία, thanksgiving) is from the very beginning the common name. Our Lord "gave thanks"

[1] Acts ii, 42, 46; xx, 7. [2] I Cor. xi, 20.
[3] Rom. xv, 26; II Cor. viii, 4; Heb. xiii, 16.
[4] II Cor. vi, 14; Gal. ii, 9; I Joh. i, 3 etc. [5] Act. ii, 42.
[6] Act. xiv, 27; I Clem. xxxiv, 7; Justin; I Apol. lxvii, 3.
[7] See the *Cath. Encyclopædia*, s.v. Synaxis.
[8] I Clem. xli, 2, 4 etc. [9] *ad Vxorem.* ii, 4 (P.L. i, 1294).
[10] *de fuga*, 14 (P.L. ii, 119).
[11] Tert: *de exhort. cast.* 11 (P.L. ii, 926).
[12] *de Orat.* 14 (P.L. i, 1170).
[13] *de Orat.* 14 (P.L. i, 1170); *adv. Marc.* iii, 22 (P.L. ii, 353) etc.
[14] Ep. xxxiv, 3 (P.L. iv, 323); Ep. lxiii, 15 (*ib.* 386); de Orat. Dom. 4 (P.L. iv, 522); *Test. adv. Iud.* i, 16 (P.L. iv, 687); etc.
[15] *de lapsis*, 25 (P.L. iv, 485). [16] Ep. lxiii, 16 (P.L. iv, 387).
[17] Ep. lxiii, 17. (*ib.* 387): "Passio Domini est sacrificium quod offerimus."

at the Last Supper.[1] That idea must have loomed very large in the sight of his followers from the first generation. "Eucharist" is almost a proper name in the Didache (above p. 10), quite a proper name in St. Ignatius (p. 14), St. Justin (p. 21), St. Irenæus (p. 27) and then in all later writers. Tertullian sometimes translates it ("gratiarum actio" Adv. Marc. iv, 9), but also uses the Greek word "Eucharistia" (de Cor. 3), so also St. Cyprian (de Or. 18, etc.). This then becomes the regular name for the Sacrament in Greek and Latin. As synonyms of εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστεῖν we often find εὐλογία and εὐλογεῖν ("blessing" and "to bless"). So in I Cor. x, 16,[2] in Justin: I Apol. lxvii, 2 etc.[3] *Liturgy* (λειτουργία) meant first any public service. In the LXX it is the public service of the temple.[4] So it passes into Christian use, first as meaning any service in church, then specially the Eucharistic service.[5] This is now its regular meaning in the East. The "holy Liturgy" corresponds exactly to our word "Mass".

Mass (missa) has become the proper name for the Latin liturgy. Its first certain occurrence is in a letter of St. Ambrose, where it is the liturgy of the faithful only.[6] But it is not for some time used exclusively for the Holy Eucharist. Its meaning and derivation, once much discussed, are not really doubtful. It is a late Latin form for *missio*[7] and meant originally merely "dismissal". Avitus of Vienne († 523) uses it for the dismissal from churches or law-courts in the most general sense: "missa fieri pronuntiatur" (= the people are dismissed).[8] So it occurs constantly for the dismissal of the catechumens in the Eucharistic service. St. Augustine, for instance: "post sermonem fit missa catechumenorum".[9] A Synod at Lerida in Spain (524) says

[1] Lk. xxii, 19 and the parallel texts.

[2] Cfr. Mt. xxvi, 26 and the parallels.

[3] See Lingens: *Die eucharistische Consecrationsform*; Innsbrucker Ztschr. für Kath. Theol. 1897, pp. 54-62.

[4] Ex. xxxviii, 27; xxxix, 12; Joel i, 9; ii, 17 etc. In the N.T. Lk. i, 23; Hebr. viii, 6.

[5] 1 Clem. xl, 2, 5; xli, 1. [6] Ep. i, 20, 4-5 (P.L. xvi, 995).

[7] So Collecta, Ascensa, Ingressa, Confessa, etc.

[8] Ep. i quoted by Rottmanner: *Ueber neuere u. ältere Deutungen des Wortes missa;* Tübinger Qtlschr. 1889, pp. 532 seq.

[9] Sermo lxix, 8 (P.L. xxxviii, 324).

that people guilty of incest may remain "usque ad missam catechumenorum," namely till the catechumens are dismissed.[1] St. Benedict († 543) in his rule uses *missa* for the dismissal from the divine office too.[2] As there was a dismissal of the catechumens, so after Communion there was a dismissal of the faithful ("Ite missa est"). Florus of Lyons († 860) explains the word exactly: "Missa nihil aliud intelligitur quam dimissio, id est absolutio, quam celebratis omnibus tunc diaconus esse pronuntiat quum populus a solemni observatione dimittitur. . . . Tunc enim, clamante diacono, iidem catechumeni mittebantur, id est dimittebantur foras. Missa ergo catechumenorum fiebat ante actionem sacramenti; missa fidelium fit post confectionem et participationem."[3] From this a transition to meaning the whole of each part of the service was easy. To stay *till* the missa catechumenorum or fidelium became to stay *for* the missa. We have then many texts which speak of these two *missæ* as the two parts of the liturgy.[4] The *Peregrinatio Silviæ* constantly uses "missa" for the liturgy of the faithful.[5] Innocent I (401-417)[6] Leo I (440-461)[7] in the same way. The disappearance of the discipline of the Catechumenate made a distinction between two missæ meaningless, so we find then the word used simply for the whole function. The Leonine Sacramentary supposes the word throughout; "Item alia" means "alia missa"; and the Gelasian book uses it constantly.[8] But a plural form, "missæ," "missarum solemnia" (for one Mass) remains in the middle ages, perhaps as a memory of the old two "masses," of the catechumens and of the faithful.

It is not really surprising that so, step by step, the name of an unessential detail should have become that of the whole service. Liturgical language offers many similar

[1] Can. 4. Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles* ii, 1064.
[2] Cap. xvii. [3] *de actione missæ*, n. 92 (P.L. cxix, 72).
[4] E. gr. Ivo of Chartres († 1116) Ep. 219 (P.L. clxii, 224).
[5] E. gr. xxiv, 11 etc. [6] Ep. xvii, 5 (P.L. xx, 535).
[7] Ep. ix, 2 (P.L. liv, 627).
[8] E. gr. "Orationes et preces ad missam" (ed. Wilson, p. 29), "missa chrismatis" (p. 69), etc.

examples.[1] The points to remember about the word *Mass* are, first, that it is not an essential name for the Eucharistic sacrifice, used everywhere from the beginning. It is a late term arising almost by accident in the West only. Except for later associations "Mass" no more involves the idea of sacrifice than do such names as "Lord's Supper" or "Communion Service". Secondly, we should never use the word for an Eastern rite. In the East they have the older technical term "Liturgy," certainly at least equally significant. Mass is not a general name used everywhere and connoting a theological idea. It is the name this function acquired in the Roman and Gallican rites only.

[1] For instance our common use of "Breviary" for the office, "Maundy Thursday" etc. Even "Confession" is not really the most essential element of the Sacrament of Penance, and so on.

APPENDIX II.

The Epiklesis.

THE Epiklesis presents perhaps the chief difficulty in the history of the Eucharistic rites. I had hoped to end with a fairly complete account of it. Want of space makes that impossible. But in order not to leave so important a question quite unnoticed, I add here a few general headings and some references which may help the reader to study it further.

1. The Epiklesis (ἐπίκλησις, invocatio) is, as now understood, an Invocation of the Holy Ghost that he may change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. It exists in all rites in the East[1] and existed in the Gallican rite.[2] We have no Epiklesis, at any rate no plain one of this kind, in the Roman rite. Leaving aside the dogmatic question,[3] the problems of liturgical history are: when and why it was introduced and how we are to account for its absence in our rite.

2. The Invocation of the Holy Ghost is not primitive. The first clear witnesses of it that we have are in the IVth century and in the neighbourhood of Antioch.[4] Soon after it occurs all over the East, and in the West too.[5] Before the IVth cent. there is nothing to show its existence. The

[1] Brightman: *op. cit.;* Apost. Const. VIII, xii, 38, p. 21; Antioch, p. 54; Alexandria, p. 134; Nestorian, p. 287; Byzantine, p. 330; Armenian, p. 439; etc.

[2] Duchesne: *Origines du Culte*, 207-208. Hoppe: *Die Epiklesis*, pp. 68-93 gives many examples of Gallican and Mozarabic Invocations.

[3] This is, I think, best solved by Lingens: *Die Eucharistische Consecrationsform*, in the *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie* (Innsbruck) 1897, pp. 51-106.

[4] Cyril of Jerusalem: *Cat. myst.* xix, 7; xxi, 3; xxiii. 7, 19 (P.G. xxxiii, 1072, 1089, 1113, 1124), etc.

[5] Hoppe: *Die Epiklesis* (Schaffhausen, 1864) gives a long chain of quotations; see also Lingens, *loc. cit.*

nearest approach to a reference is Irenæus: "the bread receiving the invocation of God (*τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ*) is no longer common bread but a Eucharist".[1] There is nothing here about the Holy Ghost; any prayer (petition) is an invocation of God. The first traces of an Invocation we find (in the normal place) ask not for the change of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, but for grace to be given to the communicants.[2] Nor do they all ask explicitly for the Holy Ghost.[3]

The Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost on the bread and wine would seem to have spread from Antioch since the IVth century.

3. The normal place of the Epiklesis is after the words of institution, at the end of the Anamnesis (so in all extant rites). This place seems to be fixed because the Anamnesis, mentioning the Ascension, leads naturally to the memory of Pentecost and so to the Holy Ghost (above p. 346). But it is a question whether this has always been its only place. The Alexandrine family of liturgies has a double Invocation, one before and one after the words of institution.[4] The liturgical fragment of Deir Balizeh (see p. 94) has a very plain Epiklesis before the Institution; it apparently also had one after, though the MS. ends just too soon.[5]

People who think that our *Quam oblationem* prayer is the Roman Invocation (though not of the Holy Ghost) see in this another case of its occurrence before the Institution.[6]

4. Many difficulties about the Epiklesis vanish when we realize that it is not an isolated phenomenon. On the contrary, it is only one example of a number of such prayers, asking God to sanctify the offering, often explicitly asking him to send the Holy Ghost upon it, which are scattered throughout various liturgies both within and often before the

[1] *adv. Hær.* iv, 18. 5 (ed. Stieren, i, 618; cfr. i, 13, 2, *ib.* p. 146). The passages produced by Pfaff from Irenæus are forgeries by him. See Harnack: *Die Pfaffschen Irenäus-fragmente*, in *Texte u. Unters.* xx, 3.

[2] So *Test. Dni* (Cooper and Maclean, p. 74); Eth. Church Order (Horner, p. 141). Cfr. Justin, I Apol. lxv, 3.

[3] *Test. Dni*, *loc. cit.*

[4] Hoppe: *op. cit.* p. 58; Salaville: *Le nouveau fragment . . . de Deir-Balyzey* (*Échos d'Orient*, 1909, 329-335) and *La double épiclèse*, (*ib.* 1910, 133-134). Sarapion has these two Invocations, *loc. cit. inf.*

[5] Salaville: *loc. cit.* Against this Dom Puniet: *A propos de la nouvelle anaphore égyptienne* (*Échos d'Orient*, 1910, 72-76).

[6] So Le Brun: *Expl. de la Messe*, Diss. x, art, 17 (vol. iii, p. 278); E. Bishop (p. 147, n. 3); Dom Puniet (*loc. cit.*).

Consecration-prayer. So in St. Mark at the very beginning,[1] after the Creed,[2] after the Sanctus;[3] in the Coptic St. Mark at the beginning,[4] in St. James at the Great Entrance,[5] in the older Byzantine rite at the beginning[6] and at the Great Entrance[7] and in many other cases.[8] Many Secrets in the Leonine Sacramentary are true Invocations.[9] One can find the Epiklesis idea in all kinds of Mozarabic prayers.[10] So we can suggest a simple and (as far as it goes) sufficient explanation of the Epiklesis. It is merely a rather prominent case of the common idea. We remember again that the liturgy, especially the Consecration-prayer is one thing, one united prayer, in answer to which God consecrates (p. 353). Naturally in that prayer we ask him, maybe repeatedly, to do so; the exact position of such petitions in the course of the prayer matters little. The form of asking him to send his Holy Spirit is a natural result of the development of the idea of the Holy Ghost as source of grace, of the attribution to the third Person of divine operations *ad extra* which spread in the IVth century,[11] and the place of the Epiklesis is perhaps fixed by the idea of Pentecost at the end of the Anamnesis.

5. But it was not always an Invocation of the Holy Ghost. There are examples (apparently earlier ones) of an Invocation of the Logos to consecrate the gifts. The best-known is in Sarapion's Consecration-prayer—a perfect example of an Epiklesis of the Logos coming just after the words of institution.[12] Several of the Invocations mentioned above are addressed to God the Son.[13]

6. Dr. Buchwald's idea seems to have much to say for itself. In outline it is this. Our Lord took bread and wine and "blessed" them. This blessing was a *Barakhah*

[1] Brightman, p. 115 (15-16). [2] *Ib.* 124. [3] *Ib.* 132.
[4] *Ib.* 148. [5] *Ib.* 41 (25 seq.). [6] *Ib.* 309. [7] *Ib.* 319.
[8] See Salaville: *A propos de l'Épiclèse* (*Rev. August.* 1909; pp. 546-568).
[9] E. gr. ed. Feltoe, 24 etc.
[10] See them quoted in Hoppe; *loc. cit.*
[11] So there are Invocations of the Holy Ghost for the water of baptism much earlier; Tertullian: *de baptismo* 4 (P.L. i, 1204); then St. Basil: *de Spiritu scto.* xv, 35 (P.G. xxxii, 132) etc.
[12] Funk: *Didascalia* II, xiii, 15 (pp. 174-176).
[13] E. gr. Coptic Mark, Brightman, 148, l. 8-24, etc.

of the usual Jewish form, in form a prayer of thanksgiving, in intention a Consecration. The first Christian generation did so too. The words of our Lord's "blessing" were not preserved; but they kept the general idea of a *Barakhah*, like the Passover Haggadah, in form a thanksgiving for God's mercies, especially for Christ's passion and death. This is our Anaphora; hence the name "Eucharist".[1] As part of the narration it always included the words of institution; but attention was not specially drawn to them. Rather the whole *Barakhah* consecrated. So we understand the forms of *Didache* ix and x, pure Jewish *Barakhoth*. This *Barakhah* is the "word of prayer that comes from him" in Justin: I *Apol.* lxvi, 2 (see p. 24).[2] A later generation (no longer Jewish) forgot the technical meaning of the *Barakhah;* so something seemed wanting in the Anaphora. It was supplied by an explicit prayer (at the end) that God would consecrate. At first God was asked to send his Word, the usual form for blessings. So we have the older Epiklesis of the Logos, as in Irenæus: *adv. hær.* v, 2, 3 (cfr. iv, 18, 5). There are other traces of it in Spain, Gaul and the East. Then, in the IVth century, the growing idea of the Holy Ghost as the source of blessing (instead of the Logos) produced the Epiklesis of the third Person which replaced the older one.[3]

7. It is, I think, certain that the Roman rite too once had an Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost. Apart from the fact that otherwise it would be unique in Christendom, we have direct evidence of it. Pope Gelasius I (492-496) refers to it twice. The first reference is perhaps less certain; he says that the bread and wine "change into the divine substance, the Holy Ghost working this".[4] But the second leaves surely no doubt that Gelasius knew the Epiklesis: "How shall the heavenly Spirit, being invoked, come to the conse-

[1] So also Mr. W. C. Bishop (above, p. 146).

[2] Salaville: *La liturgie décrite par saint Justin et l'épiclèse* (*Échos d'Orient*, 1909, pp. 129-136, 222-227) is an excellent discussion of this text, which arrives at the same conclusion.

[3] All this at length, with evidences, in Buchwald: *Die Epiklese in der röm. Messe*, Weidenauer Studien, i, 1906, pp. 21-56.

[4] "In divinam transeunt, Sancto Spiritu perficiente, substantiam." *Test. veterum de duabus naturis* (Thiel: *Ep. Rom. Pont.* i, 542).

cration of the divine mystery, if the priest who prays him to be present is condemned as being full of evil deeds?"[1] We may then surely conclude that in the Vth century Rome had an Invocation of the Holy Ghost.[2]

8. Nor is there any reason to doubt that it stood in the normal place, at the end of the Anamnesis, where our *Supra quæ* and *Supplices* prayers are now found. It has since been removed and its removal is no doubt one of the causes of the dislocation of the Canon and of the admitted difficulties in this part of the text. We have no evidence as to the form of the old Roman Epiklesis. It had disappeared before our first Sacramentaries were written. There are many conjectures, some ingenious, as to how it might be reconstructed.[3] It is however generally admitted that our difficult "Supplices te rogamus" prayer represents a fragment of the old Epiklesis, with the essential clause left out (see p. 111).[4]

9. The Invocation was removed at Rome, apparently deliberately, because of the growing Western insistence on the words of institution as the Consecration form. A long series of Latin Fathers insist on this. So St. Ambrose,[5] St. Augustine,[6] *de Sacramentis*,[7] Cæsarius of Arles († 542),[8] St. Isidore of Seville († 636)[9] and so on. As soon as people began to ask what is exactly the "form" of the Sacrament they answered, at any rate in the West, that it is the words

[1] "Nam quomodo ad divini mysterii consecrationem cælestis Spiritus invocatus adveniet, si sacerdos (et) qui eum adesse deprecatur, criminosis plenus actionibus reprobetur," Epist. fragm. 7. Thiel, *ib.* i, 486. The word *et* appears to be an error.

[2] Mgr. Batiffol thinks that the West never had but an older, vaguer Invocation (not of the Holy Ghost); see the *Revue du Clergé français*, 15 Dec. 1908. Mr. E. Bishop too seems to admit only our *Quam oblationem* as the old Roman Epiklesis; see Dom R. Connolly: *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge Texts and Studies, viii, 1, 1909), pp. 135-138.

[3] See e. gr. Buchwald's suggestion (above, p. 152).

[4] Mr. R. M. Woolley suggests a reconstruction of the *Supplices* prayer, to make it an Epiklesis for the communicants (*Lit. of Prim. Church*, p. 116).

[5] *De Mysteriis*, ix, 54 (P.L. xvi, 407).

[6] Sermo ccxxvii (P.L. xxxviii, 1099); Sermo ccxxxiv, 2 (*ib.* 1116).

[7] iv, 4, § 14 (P.L. xvi, 440), 5, § 21 (P.L. *ib.* 443).

[8] Hom. v in Pascha. (P.L. lxvii, 1053).

[9] Ep. vii, ad Redemptum (P.L. lxxxiii, 905). Some Greek fathers too say so quite plainly, e. gr. St. John Chrysostom: *De prod. Iudæ*, hom. ii, 6 (P.G. xlix, 389 and 380)

of Christ[1] which "operate what they state," as theologians put it.[2] So a later prayer for consecration seemed unnecessary and misleading. Of the time when the Invocation was removed we can only surmise that it was between Gelasius I (Vth cent.) and the Gelasian Sacramentary (VIth or VIIth cent.; see p. 121). It is often suggested that this may be one of the changes made by St. Gregory I (590-604.)[3]

10. Lastly Buchwald's idea, though it has been contradicted,[4] is ingenious and at least deserves mention. Namely that Rome had first the Epiklesis of the Logos and then later that of the Holy Ghost. Our prayer "Per quem hæc omnia" is a remnant of the Logos Epiklesis, just as "Supplices te rogamus" is of the later Invocation (see p. 358). He thinks that Leo I (440-461) adopted the Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost, destroying the older one, and then Gregory I removed the Invocation altogether.[5]

[1] So the Rubric of the Missal: *De defect.* v, 1.

[2] "Hoc efficitur quod significatur," St. Thomas Aq.: *Summa Theol.* iii, q. lxxviii, art. 5.

[3] So Buchwald: *loc. cit.* 53 and many others.

[4] By Salaville: *L'épiclèse* in the *Rev. August.* 15 March, 1909.

[5] Buchwald; *loc. cit.* 52. Salaville: *Les fondements scripturaires de l'épiclèse* (Échos d'Orient, 1909, 5-14) contains a very suggestive idea.

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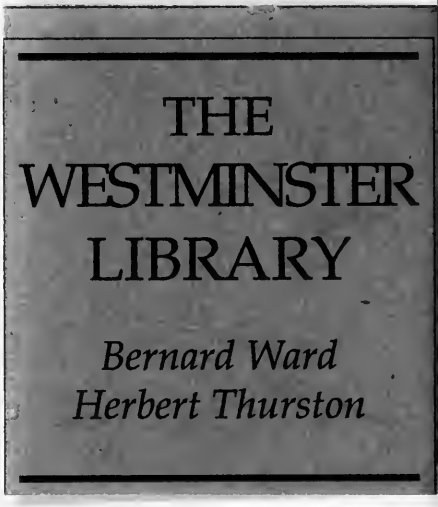
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